





ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
FOR THE YEAR  
1949



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*Committee on Un-American Activities*  
*U. S. House of Representatives*



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## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FOR THE YEAR 1949

The following report for the year 1949 is submitted to the House of Representatives in pursuance of House Resolution 5, adopted by the House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, on January 3, 1945, and Public Law 601 (sec. 121, subsec. Q (2)) adopted August 2, 1946, setting up the Committee on Un-American Activities, and authorizing such reports of the committee's activities and recommendations.

Hearings, investigations, and reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the past year dealt in the main with such aspects of communism as espionage; the Communist Party, U. S. A.; the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform); Communist activity in the District of Columbia; infiltration of labor unions; propaganda among minority groups; and Communist-front organizations.

### ESPIONAGE

The committee believes that espionage is one of the most deadly weapons in the hands of the American Communists at the present time. Investigations during previous years indicated that the Communists resorted extensively to this activity, regardless of the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The major part of the committee's attention during 1949, therefore, was devoted to unearthing additional evidence of Communist activity in this field. The following is a summary of some of the testimony heard by the committee in connection with its espionage investigations.

#### GEN. IZYADOR MODELSKI

Evidence of current Communist espionage was presented to the committee by Gen. Izyador Modelski, former military attaché of the Polish Embassy, who broke with the Communists late in 1948. Armed with a mass of official Polish Government documents, General Modelski appeared before the committee on March 31 and April 1, 1949, and described the operations of a spy ring working from the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C., with the aid of the Russian Embassy.

He testified that the Polish espionage ring was Nation-wide in scope and was directed by one Col. Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak, who was officially attached to the Embassy as deputy military attaché. Documents introduced by General Modelski included Polish Government instructions for the operation of the espionage apparatus in the Embassy, and detailed requests for every type of scientific, political, and industrial information about the United States. The Polish Government also asked for such specific military information as the strength of the various units of the armed forces and new technical inventions in that field.

General Modelski also identified an Embassy deputy, Ignace Zlotowski, as head of a special atomic espionage unit within the Polish Embassy. He said that similar spy rings operated in the embassies and legations of other Balkan nations under the domination of Russia.

#### NICHOLAS DOZENBERG

Conclusive evidence that a Communist espionage apparatus existed in the United States as early as 1928 was presented to the committee last year through the statement of Nicholas Dozenberg, self-confessed former agent of Soviet Military Intelligence in this country.

Although Dozenberg was at one time convicted and imprisoned on charges of passport fraud in connection with his Communist activities, his statement, which was submitted at a committee hearing on November 8, 1949, was his first public revelation of the operations of a major espionage ring in which he had participated.

Dozenberg revealed that he, as a Communist, was recruited into Soviet intelligence work in late 1927 or early 1928 by the then head of Soviet Military Intelligence in the United States, one Alfred Tilton, alias Joseph Paquett.

Dozenberg described how Tilton and a photographer-assistant by the name of Lydia Stahl photographed documents in the photographic studios of one Joseph Turin in New York City. Dozenberg recalled that Tilton once spent an entire night photostating plans of the British warship *Royal Oak*, which plans he had intercepted as the result of his espionage activity. Dozenberg said that he himself, on orders from Moscow, helped a Soviet intelligence agent, Jacob Kirchenstein, establish an American business and credit background and necessary contacts in 1930 or 1931.

Kirchenstein operated under the alias Frank Kleges, the name of a deceased American war veteran, whose papers were obtained for him by Alfred Tilton, according to Dozenberg. Dozenberg also admitted espionage assignments in Rumania, China, and the Philippines.

Among others in the espionage ring identified by Dozenberg were Mark Zilbert, who, in 1929, succeeded Tilton as head of Soviet Military Intelligence in this country; Boris Deyyatkin, alias Dick Murzin, in charge of Soviet intelligence for the New York area under Zilbert; Albert Feierabend; Richard Bassow; Robert Zelms; and a Dr. Philip Rosenbleitt who is presently reported to be in Paris, France.

#### JET PROPULSION AND AIRCRAFT

Attempts of a Soviet espionage agent, Andrei V. Schevchenko, to obtain secret information regarding aeronautical developments at the Bell Aircraft Corp. and Westinghouse Electric Co. during World War II were revealed through the testimony on June 6, 1949, of three witnesses who had been contacted by Schevchenko. They were Joseph John Franey, rubber repairman for the Hooker Electro-Chemical Co., Niagara Falls, N. Y.; his wife, Leona Vivian Franey, librarian for Bell Aircraft at Niagara Falls; and Loren G. Haas, air and power research engineer formerly employed at Bell Aircraft. All of these witnesses notified the FBI when they were contacted by Schevchenko and continued contacts with him under FBI instructions.



Mrs. Franey testified that Schevchenko, posing as a purchasing agent for the Soviet Government, tried to obtain from her copies of data on jet propelled planes, swept-back airplane wings, and similar confidential matter.

Her husband described how he also was approached for information by Schevchenko, accompanied by two other Soviet aides, Vladimir Mazurin, and Nicolai Ostrofsky. The Franey's said the Soviet agents tried to tempt them with offers of money and, for Mrs. Franey, furs and jewelry from Russia.

In corroborating the Franey's testimony, Loren G. Haas said Schevchenko tried to obtain from him information regarding a device for the modification of a turbo-supercharger which would increase the speed of an aircraft 50 miles per hour.

#### MARY JANE AND PHILIP O. KEENEY

Committee hearings held on May 24 and 25 and June 9, 1949, exposed the associations of Mr. and Mrs. Philip O. Keeney, former United States Government employees, with persons previously identified with Communist espionage rings in the United States. The evidence showed also that Mrs. Keeney actually served as a courier for the Communist Party. Both had subsequently tried to obtain passports to foreign countries, but without success. In one of Mr. Keeney's attempts to leave the country it was established that he had attempted to leave without a valid passport.

Mrs. Keeney personally admitted to the committee her associations with Gerhart Eisler, the ranking Communist International agent in the United States until he escaped the country following court convictions for passport fraud and contempt of Congress. She also admitted associations with Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and William Ludwig Ullmann, who have been identified by former Soviet espionage agents as collaborators in a spy apparatus. Mrs. Keeney denied actual membership in the Communist Party, however.

The committee took cognizance of an FBI report submitted in the case of the *United States of America v. Judith Coplon*, which disclosed that: (a) Mrs. Keeney delivered a manila envelope to one Jacob Bernstein immediately upon her return from France on March 9, 1946; and that (b) the afore-mentioned Bernstein shortly thereafter transferred the envelope to Alex Trachtenberg, a leading official of the Communist Party in the United States.

In questioning Mr. Keeney, the committee developed that on December 9, 1948, within 3 months after the State Department denied him a passport to leave this country, Mr. Keeney attempted to sail without the necessary papers. United States customs officials, however, refused to clear the ship on which Mr. Keeney had purchased a ticket, and, as a result, Mr. Keeney did not sail. It is interesting to note that the ship involved was the *Batory*, the same Polish steamer on which Gerhart Eisler escaped from American justice, and that the lawyer who encouraged him in this unsuccessful attempt to leave the country was Mrs. Carol King, Gerhart Eisler's attorney.

Mr. Keeney refused to answer questions asked by the committee regarding membership in the Communist Party. He was employed by the Library of Congress from 1940 to 1943, where he handled classi-

fied material; by the Foreign Economic Administration from 1943 to 1945, where he was Chief of the Document Security Section; and by the War Department from 1945 to 1947.

He was released from his duties at Fort Mason, Calif., on June 7, 1947, for reasons not made available to the committee because the committee is unable to obtain information from the executive branch of the Government pertaining to loyalty records of employees of the executive branch.

Mrs. Keeney worked for the Board of Economic Warfare, later known as the Foreign Economic Administration, beginning in 1942. She worked for the Allied Commission on Reparations in 1945 and 1946. After the FEA was blanketed into the State Department she was employed in the Interim Research and Policy Division of the Office of Internal Security. In 1948 she became employed in the Document Control Section of the United Nations secretariat. Mrs. Keeney refused to divulge the names of persons through whom she obtained this latter employment on the ground that she was instructed by the Director of the Bureau of Personnel of the United Nations not to answer questions relating to operations within the United Nations.

#### PAUL CROUCH

A comprehensive picture of Communist underground activity was offered in the testimony of Paul Crouch on May 6, 1949. A member of the Communist Party from 1925 to 1942, Mr. Crouch held such responsible party positions as member of the national executive committee of the Young Communist League, head of the antimilitarist department of the Communist Party, representative of the Young Communist League in Moscow, member of the antimilitarist commission of the Young Communist International, and Communist district organizer in the South.

The witness testified that Nicholas Dozenberg, Soviet espionage agent previously described in this report, introduced him in 1929 to the head of the Soviet secret police in the United States, who informed Crouch that Young Communist League members should do everything possible to get jobs in the State Department and other branches of the Federal Government. Crouch was also asked to see what he could do about obtaining blank passport books.

Crouch further testified that a year earlier he had been the only American representative present at a Moscow meeting where detailed instructions for Communist infiltration of the armed forces of the United States and other countries were worked out. Crouch said the Communists were told to concentrate on strategic military objectives, and that Panama and Hawaii were recommended for special concentration.

He identified Max Bedacht, Walter Trumbull, and Emmanuel Levine as leaders in the American Communist Party's efforts to carry out the armed forces infiltration program. Crouch said he remembered that the Communists succeeded in getting cells aboard the U. S. S. *Oklahoma* and into Fort Snelling, Minn.

In the early 1940's Crouch was active in an attempt to infiltrate the radiation laboratory at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif. He identified as his Communist associates in this effort Kenneth May, Rudy Lambert, and Marcel Scherer.

## COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC ESPIONAGE

Communist espionage in the vital field of atomic energy continued to get special attention in committee investigations during the year 1949.

## NELSON-WEINBERG CASE

By pursuing investigations begun back in 1947, the committee was able to offer the American public a comprehensive picture of the operations of a Communist cell in the wartime atomic project at the radiation laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Witness James Sterling Murray, former officer in charge of security and intelligence in San Francisco for the Manhattan Engineering District, which was the agency responsible for the development of the atomic bomb, testified that a highly confidential informant told his office that a scientist at the radiation laboratories had disclosed certain secret information about the Manhattan engineering project to a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco. From information supplied on the background of the particular scientist, one Joseph W. Weinberg was identified as the scientist who had disclosed the information referred to.

Murray testified from knowledge received in personal surveillance of Joseph W. Weinberg and Steve Nelson. He was corroborated by statements from other security officers of the Manhattan District. It was disclosed from this evidence that a meeting was held at the home of Joseph Weinberg, in Berkeley, Calif., in August 1943, which was attended by Joseph W. Weinberg; Bernadette Doyle, secretary to Steve Nelson during the period he was the Communist Party organizer for Alameda County, Calif.; Steve Nelson; Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz; Irving David Fox; David Joseph Bohm; and Ken Max Manfred, formerly known as Max Bernard Friedman.

Confronted with Nelson at committee hearings, Weinberg denied that he knew or had ever been acquainted with Steve Nelson. He also denied knowing Bernadette Doyle. The committee thereupon formally requested the Department of Justice to institute perjury proceedings against Joseph Weinberg, relating to the meeting of August 23, 1943, and his acquaintanceship with Steve Nelson and Bernadette Doyle.

Supplementary evidence regarding Weinberg's Communist associations was supplied in the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Crouch, who stated they had attended Communist meetings with this scientist.

Other members of the Communist cell at the Radiation Laboratory were identified as Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, David Joseph Bohm, Max Bernard Friedman, and Irving David Fox. When questioned about Communist activity, each refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination.

A detailed history of Steve Nelson's activities as a Communist Party functionary and espionage agent was made public for the first time in the course of these hearings. The fact that he had resorted to passport fraud was also revealed.



A native of Yugoslavia, Steve Nelson entered the United States on June 12, 1920, posing as Joseph Fleischinger. He joined the Communist Party in the early 1920's and in 1928 was granted United States citizenship.

Nelson received special training in the Lenin School in Moscow in 1931, and in 1933 acted as an operative for the Communist International in Shanghai, China. In 1936 and 1937, he served as a lieutenant colonel in the Communist-recruited International Brigade in Spain. Although active as a Communist Party organizer in California and Pennsylvania and as a member of the Communist Party National Committee, his most important assignment was atomic espionage.

While Nelson was active in California, he renewed his acquaintance with a woman whom he had met in Europe and whose first husband had been killed while fighting with the Spanish Loyalists during the Spanish Civil War. This woman, during the interim, had married a leading atomic scientist. After meeting both the woman and her scientist husband several times, Nelson reported to his superiors that they were not in sympathy with the Communist Party and therefore would not be of any assistance in atomic espionage. Nelson then proceeded to recruit a Communist cell at the Radiation Laboratory of the University of California which was engaged in research work relating to the development of the atomic bomb.

During the course of the committee's investigation of Steve Nelson, it was developed that Nelson had at times been in contact with one Ralph Bowman, alias Rudy Baker, alias Heinz Zimmerman, who in the early 1940's was a high official in the Communist International "apparatus" operating in the United States.

#### HISKEY-ADAMS CASE

The committee had developed the case of Clarence Francis Hiskey, Arthur Alexandrovich Adams, and John Hitchcock Chapin in 1948. This dealt with an atomic espionage group operating through the Metallurgical Laboratory at the University of Chicago. (See pp. 19 and 20 of the 1948 annual report.) In 1949, it pursued this inquiry still further, and produced additional evidence regarding the Hiskey-Adams case.

James Sterling Murray, security officer for the Manhattan Engineering District, who has been previously mentioned herein, testified on August 14, 1949, that after Clarence Hiskey was removed from his post as an atomic scientist he was inducted into the United States Army and stationed near Mineral Wells in Alaska. Thereafter, Murray said, a surveillance by Agent Charles Clark of the Intelligence Section of the Manhattan Engineering District at Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, disclosed that while on his way to his Alaskan post Hiskey was in possession of written matter classified by Gen. Leslie R. Groves as top secret. This material was removed from Hiskey's possession without his knowledge by Agent Clark. It is interesting to note that prior to the removal of the secret material in Hiskey's possession arrangements had been made for him to contact a second Soviet agent in Alaska. However, this contact was never made after the secret material was removed from Hiskey's possession. Another witness testified that he had been introduced to Adams, notorious Soviet espionage operative, by Hiskey.

On May 24, 1949, Hiskey was given an opportunity to defend himself, with the assistance of counsel, against accusations made before the committee. He refused to affirm or deny the charges on the ground of self-incrimination.

On the same day, the committee heard Paul Crouch, who identified Hiskey as a member of the Communist Party in Knoxville, Tenn. He testified that Hiskey collaborated with Marcel Scherer, the "national head of Communist work among chemists, scientists" and similar professionals, who operated in California in 1941.

#### JORDAN HEARING

On December 5, 1949, the committee received the testimony of George Racey Jordan regarding alleged shipments of Government documents and uranium to the Soviet Union by way of a United States Army airport at Great Falls, Mont., during the war. Jordan stated that it had been his assignment to expedite the shipments. In an effort to determine the validity of these charges, the committee summoned other witnesses, including Gen. Leslie R. Groves, former head of the Manhattan Engineering District. Since the investigation is continuing into the present year, 1950, the committee will withhold a report on this phase of its investigations at the present time.

The Committee on Un-American Activities was gratified, during the year, to receive a high compliment regarding its espionage investigations. In an appearance before the committee on December 7, 1949, Gen. Leslie R. Groves made the following statement:

I know of no case where the committee, with respect to Russian espionage, has made known to me anything that was not correct.

(NOTE.—Additional hearings have been held to further develop this case and are being printed in a separate volume.)

#### SPOTLIGHT ON SPIES

By the issuance of the pamphlet *Spotlight on Spies*, a picture of how the Soviet spy system operates in the United States was offered to the Members of Congress and the American public.

In the simple popular form of 100 questions and answers, the pamphlet describes the structure and methods of operation of espionage rings, the material they are after, and how successful they have been in some instances. The recruitment and training of secret agents, the functions of couriers, and the use of microfilm are also described.

The information is based on voluminous testimony before the committee regarding Communist espionage. Much of this testimony is from confessed former espionage agents.

Nine thousand copies of this report were published, receiving wide reprint in the public press. The supply was so quickly exhausted that the brochure was reprinted—the second time in combination with other similar pamphlets in one larger volume entitled "100 Things You Should Know About Communism."

## LABOR

A primary Communist objective is the penetration and control of the labor movement in the United States. The international Communist "apparatus" has supported local Communists in this objective. The Committee on Un-American Activities, therefore, has felt obligated to expose the machinations of the Communists in the labor field.

## UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO, AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (CIO)

In view of the present concern regarding our national-defense program, the committee considered it of paramount importance to pursue its investigations into the activities of the Communist clique at the head of this union.

Testimony heard by the committee regarding the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO) resulted in partial exposure of the Communist control which has been exercised over the national union organization, District Council 6, and local 601.

On August 9, 1949, the committee heard the testimony of Charles Edward Copeland, business agent of local 601 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers in the industrial metropolis of Pittsburgh. Having been a member of the Communist Party from 1943 to 1945, he identified the following officials of this local as having attended meetings with him: Frank Nestler, editor of the local union paper; Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, chief steward; Frank Panzino, assistant chief steward; and Robert Whisner, subdivision steward of the local union. He estimated that from 200 to 300 members supported the pro-Communist wing of the union.

Demonstrating the manner in which Communists utilize unions for recruiting purposes, William Henry Peeler, another member of the local, described how Dorothy Faraday, district secretary of the UE, had solicited him for membership in the Communist Party. He said similar approaches were made by Nathan Alberts of the union staff, and that Alberts had proudly referred to Tom Fitzpatrick and Frank Panzino as fellow Communists. Mr. Peeler described the fluctuations in the policy of the pro-Communist bloc in the union in accordance with the party line, and he also described its support of certain Communist-front organizations.

Blair Seese, another member of local 601, testified that he had been asked to join the Communist Party by Marshall Docherty, an officer of the local, working in collusion with Joe Godfrey, an organizer for the party. Fitzpatrick had privately admitted party membership to Seese. Under the regime of Communist officials, the union office had been used for the circulation of petitions in behalf of the 12 Communist leaders on trial in New York and for the solicitation of subscriptions to the Daily Worker. Union mailing lists were employed for the circulation of their Communist literature.

Stanley Glass, recording secretary of local 601, testified that he had been solicited to join the Communist Party by Thomas Fitzpatrick, who described to him the glories of Soviet Russia. Mr. Glass held that district council 6 of the UE was under complete Communist domination.



On August 10, 1949, Thomas J. Fitzpatrick, Frank Panzino, and Robert C. Whisner were given a full opportunity by the committee to answer the charges which had been made against them. They all refused to affirm or deny Communist Party membership on constitutional grounds. Mr. Whisner admitted being delegated by the Friends of the Soviet Union to visit that country in 1934 without, however, indicating on his passport application that he intended to go to Russia. When he returned from his trip, he was a featured speaker for the New York district, Friends of the Soviet Union, on December 12, 1934, together with Pat Toohey, a leading Communist Party official. He then wrote for the magazine, Soviet Russia Today, in the January 1935 issue, a letter captioned "U. S. S. R. Points Way for American Workers." Thomas Quinn, a field organizer for UE, admitted chairmanship of the Western Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress, which was cited as subversive by Attorney General Tom C. Clark. He refused, however, to affirm or deny Communist Party membership on constitutional grounds.

Joseph Zack Kornfeder, a former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in charge of trade-union activities, testified on August 11, 1949, and identified as members of the Communist Party the following officials of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America: James J. Matles, UE national organizational director, and James Lustig, a New York district official. A voluminous dossier containing Communist and Communist-front associations of Julius Emspak, UE national secretary-treasurer, James Lustig, and Matles, as well as the affiliations of approximately 100 other officials of this union, was incorporated into the record of these hearings.

On December 6, 1949, Mr. Oscar Smith, Deputy Director of Organization and Personnel for the Atomic Energy Commission, testified that it was AEC policy to consider the question of security in regard to officials of national unions having bargaining contracts in atomic-energy installations. He said the AEC could not afford to have work interrupted at such important installations by union officials who worked not for the best interests of the union members but as agents of a foreign power. It was as a result of such a policy, Smith stated, that the AEC instructed General Electric not to recognize the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union at the new Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory in Schenectady, N. Y.

Col. Ernest A. Barlow, Chief of the Security and Training Corps, Intelligence Division, Headquarters, Department of the Army, also appeared before the committee on December 6. He testified that whenever a company has a defense contract with the Army, Navy, or Air Force, the Intelligence Division of the Army investigates all key personnel of the company and every employee of the company who might handle, or have access to, classified material. Colonel Barlow stated, however, that the Army has no authority, when investigating for security clearance, to include union officials who may exercise control over the defense workers through their union.

It appeared from this testimony that the Atomic Energy Commission recognizes the risk involved regarding national security through failure to subject officers of certain national labor unions having bargaining contracts to the same security requirements as those members

normally dealing with classified material, and that the Atomic Energy Commission construes the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 to apply to the officers of such a union. The Security Section of the Department of the Army, however, contends that it has no authority, under the law applicable to it, to subject such officials to any type of security standards, except in instances where an official, in performing his duty, is required to know or to see classified material. If it is important to apply such security requirements where atomic secrets are involved, it would seem equally important to apply security requirements where secret Army, Navy, and Air Force contracts are involved.

At its eleventh constitutional convention in November 1949, the Congress of Industrial Organizations voted to expel the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and to establish a new union in the same field.

## COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A., AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

On August 9, 1949, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, former member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., who had also served on the official staff of the Communist International and a student of the Lenin School in Moscow, outlined for the committee the nature of Joseph Stalin's international Communist "apparatus."

Mr. Kornfeder described how Stalin's battery of secretaries keep him abreast of developments regarding Communist Parties throughout the world, and how Moscow has financial control of these parties. He named the various Soviet colleges for training subversive agents from all parts of the world, including the United States, and he named individual American Communists leaders trained in such schools.

The work of the various Communist International departments, including those dealing with agitation-propaganda, organization, labor, underground activities, youth, women, agriculture, information, and discipline, was outlined. Kornfeder described the functions of Moscow secretariats in charge of Communist regional affairs, such as Far Eastern, Central European, Anglo-American, and Latin-American branches. He identified a number of representatives sent from Moscow to direct the affairs of the American Communist Party, and he analyzed Stalin's methods based upon his (Kornfeder's) experience within the Comintern "apparatus."

On May 6, 1949, Paul Crouch, who had served as an organizer for the Communist Party in North and South Carolina, Utah, Alabama, Tennessee, and California, described the operations of the American Communist Party in these areas, including units in the Tennessee Valley Authority, one at Fisk University, and another at the University of California.

Crouch also outlined the activities of the Communists in Miami, Fla., with particular reference to local 500 of the Transport Workers Union and the Pan American Air Lines and the Progressive Party of Florida. Crouch called Miami "the ideal place for Communists to direct operations in Latin America," because it is the hub of all Pan American air lines. He said the Communists had a strategic advantage



there because Phil Scheffsky, whom he identified as a Communist Party member, holds the presidency of TWU local 500, which has jurisdiction over all maintenance and flight service employees of Pan American in Miami, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Balboa, Canal Zone.

## COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Hearings in June and July 1949 dealt with the operations of a Communist group within the Nation's Capital. While this group does not include Government employees, it was considered worthy of special attention by the committee in view of the fact that Communists working outside the Government have been known in the past to aid subversive agents within the Government.

The committee also inquired into the activities of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, which is one of the most important Communist fronts in Washington, D. C., and serves as an outlet for Communist propaganda, and a contact or meeting place. This organization, since the original writing of this report, has ceased to function.

## MINORITY GROUPS

The Communist Party, U. S. A., has consistently sought to create the impression that it is genuinely interested in furthering the welfare of our Negro population. The party and its spokesmen claim wide support among this group. Speaking in behalf of the Communists, Paul Robeson boasted in Paris on April 20, 1949, that American Negroes would not defend the United States in the event of a conflict with the Soviet Union. To permit this false impression to stand unchallenged would have been unfair to the millions of loyal Negro Americans. The committee, therefore, arranged a series of hearings to which were invited outstanding members of our Negro community. These hearings were arranged largely by Alvin W. Stokes, a Negro investigator employed for a number of years by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

As the first witness in these hearings, Mr. Stokes said that, based upon interviews with hundreds of Negro leaders throughout the country, there are not more than 1,400 Negro members of the Communist Party, constituting in fact about one-tenth of 1 percent of the Negro population. It was his opinion that even among this group many would desert the Communists in support of the United States in the event of a national emergency.

### GEORGE K. HUNTON

On July 13, 1949, the committee heard the testimony of George K. Hunton, executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council and editor of its publication, the Interracial Review. Mr. Hunton charged that the Communists sought at all times to increase antagonism between whites and Negroes. In the famous Scottsboro case, for example, Mr. Hunton said he became convinced that the Communists "did not want the boys freed. They wanted them kept in jail \* \* \* to be held up as martyrs." He declared that to attain this goal the Communists resorted to "inflammatory" tactics of "goading the South" and "rabble

rousing." As soon as some tentative agreement would be reached with the State authorities, he said, "a group of Communists would come down and picket the courthouse and negotiations would be called off."

He mentioned the fact that the Communists organized a picket line around a Madison Square Garden meeting arranged by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, because it was not held under their auspices.

He also described obstructive Communist picketing while negotiations were going on for the hiring of Negro players by major-league baseball clubs.

THOMAS W. YOUNG

The next witness was Thomas W. Young, president and publisher of the Guide Publishing Co., Inc., publishers of the Journal and Guide, a weekly newspaper circulated principally in Virginia and North Carolina.

Mr. Young held that by and large—

the machinery which we in this country have embraced for the realization of our declared way of life is, nevertheless, accomplishing, however slowly, the most cherished aspirations of the Negro group.

He felt that Paul Robeson—

is now so far out of touch with the Negro's thinking and his everyday emotions that he can no longer speak authoritatively about or for the race. His distant travels and his latter-day preoccupations with the affairs of the Soviets have broken the bond he once held with the Negro mind.

LESTER B. GRANGER

On July 14, 1949, the committee heard Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, a social-service agency with branches in 29 States and the District of Columbia. He, too, emphasized the meagerness of Communist influence among Negroes. In New York's Harlem, for example, which is overwhelmingly Negro, he pointed out that the Communist-supported candidate for President, Henry A. Wallace, had received only 14 percent of the total vote cast. He said a similar situation was reflected in Negro districts in Chicago.

The Communist Party—

he declared—

seeks to establish among Negroes and the rest of the world the illusion of an influence they actually never hope to attain. \* \* \* Such an impression, skillfully established, would \* \* \* obviously strengthen the hand of Moscow in power politics the world over.

Mr. Granger described the methods employed by Communists in penetrating Negro organizations as follows:

Their methods are to go into an organization; if there is a fee, to pay the fee; if activity is the measure of membership, to be very active; but by one means or other to get a large number of members to go in and to gravitate, generally not to the presidency or highest post, but to some minor post that is a good look-out post, and then at various points to exert open or covert control that will keep the movement going along Communist Party policy, or at least not opposed to it.

## DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Mr. Granger was followed by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University and author of a number of works on racial relations, education, and the South. Dr. Johnson held that—

the Negroes are rooted in this country, in the life of this country, and they seek their fortunes and futures here; and they feel \* \* \* that it is infinitely better to rest their case with the internal correction of their grievances than to fly to fates unknown, untested.

## C. B. CLARK

Mr. C. B. Clark, of Pittsburgh, Pa., the next witness, is a descendant of a fighter in the Continental Army in the days of the American Revolution, and himself a disabled veteran. It was his opinion that—

a vast majority of Negroes have no respect for Russia, no love for communism, nor belief in any foreign ideology.

## JACK ("JACKIE") ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

On July 18, 1949, the committee heard Jack Roosevelt Robinson, famous second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers, recently voted the most valuable ballplayer of the year. His historic statement was reprinted with acclaim by the press of the entire country. In sharp contrast to Paul Robeson, who arrogated to himself the right to speak in behalf of 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States, Mr. Robinson declared:

I can't speak for any 15,000,000 people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass. I am a religious man. Therefore, I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give. And I suspect that 999 out of almost any thousand colored Americans you meet will tell you the same thing.

## MANNING JOHNSON

Manning Johnson, who appeared on July 14, 1949, was formerly a member of the national committee of the Communist Party and a member of its Negro commission. He received special training in one of the party's conspiratorial schools. He is now an AFL organizer.

Johnson identified Paul Robeson as a secret member of the Communist Party, who has ambitions to "be the Black Stalin among Negroes." According to Johnson, Robeson's contacts were restricted to the higher echelons of the party.

A six-page record of Paul Robeson's Communist affiliations was included in the appendix to these hearings.

Mr. Johnson said he turned against the party for four reasons: (1) Because the party was antireligious; (2) because it stood for the establishment of a separate Negro republic by armed revolt; (3) because of its callousness and insincerity in the Scottsboro case; (4) because of its support of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Mr. Johnson introduced into the record a comprehensive list of Communist-front organizations utilized by the party for activity among Negroes.

## RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, national executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, appeared before the committee on July 13, 1949. He presented 27 exhibits from the Communist press to show how it seeks to incite the Jewish people against the United States. Some illustrative headlines were: "American airplanes against Jewish immigrants"; "Nuremberg in Washington"; "They arrest only Negroes and Jews." Rabbi Schultz also presented examples of anti-Semitic literature of the Communists, including the Moscow Pravda for March 5, 1949, and two cartoons from the New York Morning Freiheit. He placed into the record a list of the principal Communist-front organizations operating among the Jews.

## COMMUNIST-FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

From its inception the committee has devoted considerable attention to the exposure of Communist-front organizations. As a result, a number of these organizations were rendered ineffectual and in some cases were dissolved.

## SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

With considerable fanfare, the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace staged its meetings at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949. In a report subsequently issued, the committee showed that this was part of a so-called "world peace movement" under Communist auspices. Instead of promoting peace, however, it was intended to provide a forum against the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Pact and other aspects of American foreign policy, and to provide a forum to support Soviet foreign policy, to incite civil disobedience and to discredit American art and culture in favor of the Soviet productions. The committee presented the Communist affiliations of the sponsors of the conference in detail.

Published on the eve of the Communist-inspired World Peace Congress in Paris on April 20-23, 1949, the report was utilized for informational purposes by the State Department and was roundly denounced by Moscow. It was widely circulated in colleges throughout the United States.

## AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS

On June 26, 1949, the committee published a comprehensive report on the American Slav Congress, a Communist front affiliated with the All-Slav Congress in Moscow. This organization spreads Soviet propaganda directed at the 10,000,000 Slavic-Americans in this country.

The report traced the history of the organization, its activities, the Communist affiliations of its leaders, the various supporting Communist organizations and publications, and the collaboration of various Communist embassies. The report showed that the objectives of this organization were primarily military, being directed toward the subversion of millions of Slavic-Americans employed in our basic industries. Included in the report were examples of subversive, anti-American and pro-Soviet propaganda in affiliated foreign-language newspapers.



Among those whose Communist records were included in the report was George Pirinsky, also known as Nicholas I. Zaikoff, and George Necoloff. Pirinsky is now under \$5,000 bail after being arrested for deportation on charges of advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

#### CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

On October 23, 1949, the committee published a report on the Congress of American Women, affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation. The Congress was identified by the committee as—

a specialized arm of Soviet political warfare in the current "peace" campaign to disarm and demobilize the United States and democratic nations generally in order to render them helpless in the face of the Communist drive for world conquest.

The Soviet control of the Women's International Democratic Federation was traced from its inception in 1945 to the present date. Communist or Communist-front affiliations of the outstanding leaders of the Congress of American Women were listed. These leaders included Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Margaret Undjus Krumbein, Muriel Draper, Susan B. Anthony II, Gene Weltfish, Clara Bodian, Claudia Jones, and others.

The type of pressure employed by this organization and its close adherence to the line of the Communist Party were described in some detail. Copies of the report were distributed among the principal women's organizations in this country.

#### SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The committee on June 12, 1947, published a report exposing the Communist nature of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. These findings were supplemented on May 6, 1949, through the testimony of Paul Crouch. Crouch, as former southern organizer for the Communist Party and an active participant in the Southern Conference, related how this front organization had been subsidized and directed by the Communists from its first meeting. This organization is no longer in existence.

#### IN RETROSPECT

The committee would like to remind the Congress that its work is part of an 11-year continuity of effort that began with the establishment of a Special Committee on Un-American Activities in August 1938. The committee would also like to recall that at no time in those 11 years has it ever wavered from a relentless pursuit and exposure of the Communist fifth column. In many instances in the past, however, the positions taken by the committee on certain questions were not immediately supported. The committee had to wait upon the course of history for some of its findings to be legally substantiated. We would herewith list some of these instances as applied to 1949.

#### TWELVE COMMUNIST LEADERS

In its first annual report, dated January 3, 1939, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities analyzed the nature of the Com-



munist movement on the basis of its investigations and found that the Communist Party—

seeks ultimately the overthrow of the American form of government \* \* \* and \* \* \* rests upon brutal violence despite its present dishonest professions of belief in the process of democracy.

Year after year the committee reiterated this warning to the American public, and on May 11, 1948, it published the most comprehensive study of this aspect of the Communist movement ever made by any Federal agency. This study, heavily documented, was published under the title, "Report on the Communist Party of the United States as an Advocate of Overthrow of Government by Force and Violence."

On July 20, 1948, 12 leaders of the Communist Party of the United States were indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York on charges of conspiring to "teach and advocate the overthrow or destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence." Eleven of them were convicted on those charges in Federal court on October 14, 1949.

#### HARRY BRIDGES

In its annual report of January 3, 1939, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities urged that deportation proceedings be "vigorously and promptly" prosecuted against Harry Bridges. It declared that Bridges—

was a Communist alien, that he belonged to an organization which preaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; that he himself advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; and that he had likewise advocated sabotage.

Harry Bridges was successful in obtaining American citizenship in 1945. But on May 25, 1949, he was indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy and perjury in connection with his obtaining citizenship. His trial is still in progress.

#### JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, headed by Dr. Edward K. Barsky, was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944. On December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, Attorney General Tom Clark cited the same organization as subversive and Communist. The organization complained against this citation to the United States District Court in the District of Columbia which dismissed the plea. On August 11, 1949, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld this decision.

For refusing to produce books and records subpoenaed by the committee in 1946, Dr. Barsky and 17 other leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee were cited for contempt of Congress. Each one was convicted in Federal court, and only two convictions were reversed in appellate court. Convictions were reversed by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in the case of Miss Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary, and Mrs. Ernestina G. Fleischmann, executive committee member, on the ground that a quorum of the committee was not present at all times during the committee hearings. The Government has petitioned the Supreme Court for a rehearing.

## GERHART EISLER

The committee in 1947 exposed Gerhart Eisler as the No. 1 leader of the Communist International in the United States and, as such, the on-the-spot boss of the Communist Party in this country. As an outgrowth of committee hearings, Eisler was convicted in court in 1948 on charges of passport fraud and contempt of Congress. While on bail, pending appeal, Eisler succeeded in escaping the country aboard the Polish steamship, the *Batory*, in May 1949. He was immediately awarded a prominent post in the Communist government of eastern Germany. This further corroborates the committee's early warning that Eisler's pose as a harmless refugee was mere cover for an assignment as a top Communist International agent.

## THE HISS CONVICTION

While this report was in the process of preparation, the trial of Alger Hiss, formerly a highly placed Government official, for committing perjury before a Federal grand jury in 1948 was brought to a conclusion. On January 21, 1950, Alger Hiss was convicted on two separate and distinct counts of perjury. One of these counts involved a statement made before the Federal grand jury by Alger Hiss that he had not seen David Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed Soviet espionage agent, after the year 1937. The other count involved Hiss' denial before the same grand jury that he had ever furnished any State Department documents to David Whittaker Chambers.

The name of Alger Hiss was first brought to the attention of the American public by the Committee on Un-American Activities. This case was reopened by the committee in 1948, almost 10 years after the name of Alger Hiss had been furnished to United States Government officials by Chambers as being a member of a Communist cell which had as its purpose the infiltration of the Government.

After an extensive investigation had been conducted by the committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the year 1948, the Department of Justice presented the Hiss matter to the Federal grand jury in New York City, ultimately leading to the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury.

## COMMUNIST-DOMINATED UNIONS

In its report of March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the following unions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations as having "Communist leadership \* \* \* strongly entrenched":

American Communications Association.

International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians (since merged into the United Office and Professional Workers of America).

International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

International Union of Fishermen and Allied Workers of America.

International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific Coast.

State, County, and Municipal Workers of America.

United Federal Workers of America.

(Latter two since merged into the United Public Workers of America.)

United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (now known as the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers).  
United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.  
United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America.  
United Furniture Workers of America.  
United Office and Professional Workers of America.

At a convention of the CIO in November 1949, two of the above unions, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, were expelled from the CIO on charges of being Communist-controlled. The remaining unions cited by the committee are under investigation by the national CIO, which has charged them with following the Communist Party line. They are facing possible expulsion from the CIO.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in the same report of March 29, 1944, also presented the Communist affiliations of the following members of the CIO executive board:

Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.  
Joseph Selly, president, American Communications Association.  
Donald Henderson, president, Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America.  
Abram Flaxer, president, United Public Workers of America.  
Joseph F. Jurich, president, International Union of Fishermen and Allied Workers of America.

These men are also now under charges by the CIO executive board that they have followed the Communist Party line.

## FILES OF THE COMMITTEE

During the year 1949, more than 300,000 pieces of material have been added to the voluminous files of the committee. Such additions have ranged from official documents, photostats, periodicals, and pamphlets issued by subversive organizations, circular letters and directives of the Communist Party, to crudely lettered handbills announcing meetings and programs of subversive groups. Each piece of material has been carefully analyzed, classified, and indexed.

The files of the committee compose one of the most comprehensive records in the United States concerning individuals active in subversive groups, the programs and aims of un-American organizations, and their propaganda methods. This vast reference collection contains information and documentary evidence unearthed by the committee in its investigations and studies of subversive groups during the past 11 years, records compiled by other investigative agencies, data from the files of law-enforcement agencies in various States, and evidence submitted by some 1,100 witnesses who have testified before the committee in public and executive hearings.

The committee has painstakingly accumulated and carefully preserved more than a million documents and records covering un-American activities in this country during the past quarter of a century. In volume, the collection has grown from 2 file cabinets in 1938 to more than 200 today. Constantly expanding, it is made up largely of irreplaceable documents and records. It has been consulted by more than 20,000 Government agents and officials.

The collection has served as a basis for much of the committee's investigative work. As source material, it has been invaluable in the exposure of foreign agents, Communist infiltration, espionage, and the nature of subversive movements. It has served as a means of informing the American people of the menace to national security which lies in the efforts of subversive individuals and groups.

During the year 1949, some 75,000 cards were added to the consolidated card records of the committee, which now contain 470,000 card references to activities and affiliations of individuals. These cards serve as an index to source material contained in periodicals, hearings, reports, pamphlets, and miscellaneous exhibit material in file.

In 1949, the committee heard 1,749 pages of testimony presented by the 60 witnesses who testified in public hearings, and the 34 who testified in executive hearings. Staff members have compiled indexes to the public testimony and the four reports issued by the committee during the period which contain references to 4,657 individuals and 3,171 organizations.

A total of 52,878 references to individuals and 11,764 references to organizations appear in indexes to public hearings held by the committee during the past 11 years and the 64 reports which have been issued. These indexes and the consolidated card record file facilitate investigative work by members of the staff and authorized personnel from other agencies. Reports compiled by staff investigators paralleling the work of the committee have been indexed. These contain thousands of references to prewar and wartime subversive activities of Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese groups, and information concerning Communist activities in the United States. References to 15,825 organizations appear in these reports. Documentary evidence accumulated by staff investigators has been useful to many Federal agencies.

In the course of its investigations into aims and organization of the Communist Party in the United States, the committee has made available a large, completely indexed, and readily accessible reference collection of lists of signers of Communist Party election petitions, which is consulted daily by investigators from various Government agencies as well as staff members. These lists, obtained from original petitions or photostatic copies of original petitions, contain 363,119 signatures for various years in 20 States.

Of the 363,119 signatures, some 335,660 have been indexed and printed by the committee. The committee has published printed lists of signers of election petitions of the Communist Party for 1940 in the following States: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The following Communist Party election petitions have been indexed by the committee: California, 1932, 1934, 1936, and 1938; 1942 petitions in Colorado and New York; 1946 petitions in Colorado, Connecticut, Michigan, and Pennsylvania; New York City, 1936, 1939, 1940, and 1945; Philadelphia, 1941 and 1946. Lists of signers which have not been published by the committee have been indexed and filed in the consolidated card records file.

Throughout the year, individual files have been maintained on some 3,500 leaders of the Communist Party and its various front organizations, and individuals active in Fascist movements.



New material has been added to the huge accumulation of information concerning thousands of organizations in existence in the United States. Such additions have involved constant research by staff members to ascertain the aims and purposes of new organizations and a constant check of old organizations which appear in new guises. In many instances throughout the year, source material on file has served to expose deceptively labeled Communist-front groups seeking to gain control of civic and youth organizations.

In investigations concerning the diffusion of subversive and un-American propaganda in the United States, the committee has acquired a highly specialized collection of periodicals and pamphlets which serve as a valuable source of information in the study of motives and policies of subversive groups. Much of the collection, which dates from 1923, is irreplaceable. It contains copies of publications issued by Fascist, Nazi, and Japanese groups, and hundreds of publications issued by the Communist Party and its front organizations.

Each month, about 1,000 issues of the major Communist publications and other periodicals and newspapers have been indexed and added to the files, which now contain various issues of more than 650 publications. In the collection are issues of more than 90 periodicals published by the Communist Party or its front organizations.

More than 300 pamphlets and books written by leaders of subversive groups or issued by subversive organizations were cataloged and added to the 5,000 in file. Translations of publications recently issued by the Communist Party in many countries have been added along with early publications of the Communist Party of the United States. Included in the large collection are numerous handbooks outlining propaganda techniques and methods to be used by Communist groups posing as champions of minorities and friends of youth. This collection has served to expose the cleverly camouflaged recruiting techniques of the Communist Party and its myriad front organizations, and the dissemination of totalitarian propaganda masked by democratic labels.

The committee has acquired numerous additions to its large reference collection of hearings held by other agencies investigating subversion and reports issued by such groups.

Hundreds of dossiers have been compiled from information in file for use of committee members and staff employees in connection with reports and investigations during the year. Information has been furnished to Members of Congress, other congressional committees, and numerous agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

In 1949, staff members compiled reports on the subversive affiliations of 2,473 individuals and 597 reports on the nature of various organizations for the use of Members of Congress. These compilations included all information found in the public files, records, and publications of the committee concerning the individuals and organizations.

In Presidential Executive Order 9835, dated March 21, 1947, the files of the committee were designated as one of the pertinent sources of information to be checked in determining the loyalty of Federal employees and applicants for Federal employment. In this connection, a number of liaison agents have been regularly assigned to the files section of the committee throughout the year, where, on the average, each agent has checked for information concerning 200 or more



individuals daily. Many other agents have made periodic visits in connection with the loyalty program and security checks.

From January 1 through December 31, 1949, liaison agents from Government agencies made 3,956 visits to the files section. During these visits, they consulted the consolidated cards, records, indexes, and other reference sources for information concerning more than half a million individuals.

During the year, staff members have consolidated records and re-organized a large volume of material to make information on file more readily accessible to accredited agents, who make their own checks of committee publications and the consolidated card-record file. In the course of such checks, however, agents often wish to study source material.

The committee has been able to supply hundreds of exhibits unavailable elsewhere for use of investigative agents in connection with the loyalty program. Staff members furnish such exhibits, periodicals, and other reference material requested, answer inquiries, and are often requested to supply information concerning organizations.

The files of the committee were consulted by representatives of various investigative units of the following agencies during the year:

- Bureau of the Census.
- Central Intelligence Agency.
- Civil Aeronautics Board.
- Department of Agriculture.
- Department of the Air Force.
- Department of the Army.
- Department of Commerce.
- Department of Justice.
- Department of Labor.
- Department of the Navy.
- Department of State.
- Department of the Treasury.
- Economic Cooperation Administration.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Federal Communications Commission.
- Federal Power Commission.
- Metropolitan Police Department.
- National Labor Relations Board.
- Securities and Exchange Commission.
- United States Civil Service Commission.
- United States Coast Guard.
- United States Secret Service.

Material pertinent to investigations made by Government agencies during the year has been loaned to these groups for brief periods for photostating. The committee has also furnished such agencies with a large number of photostatic copies of exhibits in file.

## DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

The committee has long believed that a broad program of education is invaluable in the fight against communism. The committee feels that if the American citizens who are inclined to be influenced by communism were cognizant of its principles, aims, and methods, they would reject this ideology so foreign to the concepts of our democratic society.

As part of this program, close to two million copies of committee publications were distributed during 1949 by the committee staff and such other agencies as the Government Printing Office.

Receiving the largest distribution was a series of five question-and-answer pamphlets issued originally in 1948 and dealing with "100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U. S. A. \* \* \* and Religion \* \* \* and Education \* \* \* and Labor \* \* \* and Government." Demands for this series, which exceeded the combined requests for all other committee publications issued since 1938, were not satisfied by the distribution of 600,000 copies in 1948. A resolution passed early in 1949 authorized a reprint of 250,000 additional copies of each pamphlet in the series. For reasons of economy, they were bound as one volume, including the pamphlet, *Spotlight on Spies*, referred to earlier in this report. Half of the 250,000 additional copies were allotted to Members of the House and the remaining half were distributed by the committee staff, with only a small part of the demand being met.

In addition to the publication, *Spotlight on Spies*, the committee released the following other new publications in 1949:

- Documentary Testimony of Gen. Izyador Modelski, March 31 and April 1, 1949.
- Soviet Espionage Activities in Connection With Jet Propulsion and Aircraft, June 6, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Steve Nelson, June 8, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Toma Babin, May 27 and July 6, 1949.
- Testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949.
- Testimony of Philip O. Keeney and Mary Jane Keeney and Statement Regarding Their Background, May 24 and 25, and June 9, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Radiation Laboratory and Atomic Bomb Project at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif., vol. 1, April 22, 26, May 25, June 10 and 14, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Clarence Hiskey Including Testimony of Paul Crouch, May 24, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 1, July 13, 14, and 18, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 2, July 14, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Labor Unions—Part 1 (UERMWA) August 9, 10, and 11, 1949.
- Hearings Regarding Communism in the District of Columbia—Part 1, June 28, 29, July 6, 12, and 28, 1949.
- Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.
- Report on the American Slav Congress.
- Report on Atomic Espionage (Nelson-Weinberg and Hiskey-Adams cases).
- Report on the Congress of American Women.
- Statement of J. Edgar Hoover (reprint of earlier testimony).

The committee received a total of 111,681 copies of these new publications listed above and the committee to date has filled requests for approximately 52,000 copies. In addition, approximately 25,000 copies of material released in previous years has been distributed since January 3, 1949.

When a new publication is released by the committee a copy of it is mailed to the Members of both Houses. This office answers daily many requests from Members of Congress for various other information as well as for committee publications.

The committee has also complied with publication requests from foreign countries, including New Zealand, Turkey, the Philippines, Cuba, Brazil, Hawaii, Canada, Mexico, Germany, France, the Dominican Republic, the Virgin Islands, England, the Fiji Islands, British West Africa, and Japan.

Numerous copies of committee publications are sold annually by the Government Printing Office. The following is a break-down of those sold last year:

*Committee on Un-American Activities publications sold by the Government  
Printing Office in 1949*

|                                                                                                                                                              |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U. S. A.....                                                                                               | 117, 273 |
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion.....                                                                                                 | 57, 182  |
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Education.....                                                                                                | 41, 169  |
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Labor.....                                                                                                    | 61, 351  |
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Government.....                                                                                               | 33, 439  |
| 100 Things You Should Know About Communism (Series Bound Together with Spotlight on Spies).....                                                              | 8, 116   |
| Spotlight on Spies.....                                                                                                                                      | 8, 971   |
| Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government.....                                                                                  | 60       |
| Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government, Part II.....                                                                         | 75       |
| Report on Soviet Espionage Activities in Connection with the Atom Bomb.....                                                                                  | 580      |
| Interim Report on Communist Espionage in the United States Government.....                                                                                   | 299      |
| Soviet Espionage Within the United States Government.....                                                                                                    | 254      |
| Citations by Official Government Agencies of Organizations and Publications found to be Communist or Communist Fronts.....                                   | 6, 933   |
| Documentary Testimony of General Izyador Modelski.....                                                                                                       | 294      |
| Soviet Espionage Activities in Connection with Jet Propulsion and Aircraft.....                                                                              | 28       |
| Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities to the United States House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress.....                                     | 500      |
| Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.....                                                                                        | 2, 004   |
| Report on the American Slav Congress.....                                                                                                                    | 208      |
| Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Radiation Laboratory and Atomic Bomb Project at the University of California, Berkeley, California, Part 1..... | 11       |
| Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups, Part 2.....                                                                                    | 25       |
| Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Labor Unions, Part 1.....                                                                                       | 10       |
| Hearings Regarding Communism in the District of Columbia, Part 1.....                                                                                        | 5        |
| Report on the Congress of American Women.....                                                                                                                | 38       |
| Total.....                                                                                                                                                   | 338, 825 |

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Looking back upon 4 years' experience as a standing committee of the House of Representatives and almost 7 years as a special committee, we feel more than ever impressed with the insidiousness and vastness of the ramifications of the Communist movement and the urgent necessity for unflagging efforts to expose and curb its machinations. To further the effectiveness of these investigations and to curb the subversive activities of the Communist Party, United States of America, its agents and its dupes, the committee recommends the following action by the incoming House of Representatives:

1. The statute of limitations in espionage cases must be amended. Under our present laws we have found that a long list of Communist operatives who have committed acts of espionage and treachery in the interest of a foreign power have remained immune to punishment due to the present form of the statute of limitations.

2. The nature of modern war—the fact that nations find themselves confronted nowadays with undeclared but actual warfare—makes it necessary that the legal definition of treason, and the penalties attached thereto, be broadened to cover a period like the present cold war.

3. Experience during the past 5 years has demonstrated that the embassies of Communist-dominated countries constitute a focal point of Communist espionage and propaganda. Such activity should be limited by proper safeguards sternly enforced.

4. H. R. 3903 providing safeguards against the employment of subversive individuals in defense plants should be adopted.

5. H. R. 10 providing for the supervision and detention of undeportable aliens should be enacted into law in order to deal with thousands of alien Communists refused acceptance by the country of their birth.

6. It would be advantageous to enact legislation creating a presumption of law that a committee quorum, once established, continues to exist.

7. Effective action against the well-coordinated, interlocking Communist network requires the utmost teamwork among branches of the Government. Petty rivalry or separatism can only work to the advantage of the Communists. A small bit of information in the hands of one agency may well be the missing link of an entire chain of evidence in the hands of another agency. Hence, the committee recommends the fullest cooperation between legislative and executive arms of the Government in the matter of dealing with subversive activities. Modification of the Executive order in loyalty and investigative cases is recommended for consideration.

8. In a number of cases we have found that subversive elements will submit information to one arm of the Government when it suits their purpose and will withhold it from another. Communist trade unionists will deny their affiliations before the National Labor Relations Board and refuse to affirm or deny them before a congressional committee. They will deny them in filling out Form 57 in applying for Federal employment and refuse to affirm or deny such affiliations before this committee. It is highly necessary that the Department of Justice take effective action against those who would make a tragic joke of law enforcement. Here, again, there is room for maximum cooperation between the legislative and executive arms of Government.

9. In connection with national defense contracts involving secret and classified work for the Atomic Energy Commission, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, legislation should be enacted which subjects officers of national labor unions having bargaining contracts to the same security standards as members who have access to secret or classified material.



## APPENDIXES

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### APPENDIX I

The Communist problem is comparatively new in the field of American jurisprudence. This accounts for the paucity of literature regarding communism in the field of law. In fact, there are evidences of confusion on the subject even among leading members of our legal profession who have not had the time and the opportunity to apply themselves to an intensive study of this complicated subject. The committee has therefore decided to append to this report a digest of existing National and State legislation on subversive activities which was made by the Maryland State Commission on Subversive Activities, under the chairmanship of Frank B. Ober.

We hope thereby to stimulate fruitful discussion on this vital subject in law journals and law schools, and among National and State legislators and law-enforcement officers.<sup>1</sup>

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF COMMISSION ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, MARYLAND,  
JANUARY 1949 (pp. 72-99)

#### IN GENERAL

Statutes against subversive activities have their origin in the treason laws of the United States, enacted in 1790, and date back to the Civil War on a state level. With the advent of the recent world conflict, and during the period of unrest which has followed in its wake, there has been an increasing tendency on the part of the State Legislatures and of the Congress to enact legislation designed to suppress foreign propaganda and subversive activities.

In addition to the treason laws, general statutes against conspiracy and incitement to crime, and various war measures found in many states, the legislative approach to this problem has assumed a variety of forms. These include: general sedition, criminal anarchy, and criminal syndicalism laws; statutes against the display of symbols denoting sympathy with the ideals or forms of government inimical to American concepts, commonly called red-flag laws; statutes designed to suppress the activities of political parties and candidates who are antagonistic to the American form of government; legislation requiring teachers, public officers, employees and others to subscribe to oaths of loyalty to support state and federal constitutions; and various measures penalizing or withholding privileges from persons or organizations guilty of subversive activities.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the report of the Maryland Commission on Subversive Activities was released in January 1949 various State legislatures have shown increasing concern with the problem of communism. According to Newsweek, April 11, 1949, p. 24, for example:

"The New York State Legislature passed a bill directing the State Board of Regents to purge the public schools of teachers with subversive leanings.

"The Texas Legislature passed a bill instructing the presidents of all State-supported colleges to expel all Communist students and teachers.

"In Kansas, a bill passed making 'subversive activities' punishable by fines and jail sentences.

"The Illinois Legislature prepared to pass bills making it a crime to be a Communist, and barring Communists as teachers from the schools.

"In New Jersey four bills barring disloyal persons from State jobs seemed sure to pass.

"In Georgia and New Mexico, new laws were on the books barring subversives from holding public jobs.

"Similar legislation was on the way in Missouri, Oregon, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and California."

One or more of these types of measures have been enacted in practically every state. Maryland, however, stands virtually alone in the respect it has, at the moment, practically no legislation touching any of these matters.

This digest endeavors to summarize all pertinent statutes of the United States and of the several states as they now exist. Summaries of the general and special laws, with citations, have been supplied and, for convenience, the material has been arranged both by states and by subject matter.

Questions of constitutionality and problems of administration and of enforcement are not included herein. These matters are of utmost importance but are left for consideration by the Commission.

For convenience, three appendices have been prepared as follows:

Appendix A—Federal Statutes.

Appendix B—State Statutes—By States.

Appendix C—State Statutes—By Subject Matter.

In addition thereto and for ready reference, a table of all state legislation will be found on page 77.<sup>2</sup>

#### GENERAL SUBVERSION LAWS

The general laws against subversive activities are usually designated as sedition, criminal anarchy, and criminal syndicalism statutes. More than three-fourths of the states have laws of one or more of these types, some having single statutes including two or more thereof. This digest does not include sabotage and related statutes of the other states, since Maryland enacted during the recent war the model sabotage statute proposed for State adoption and the Commission has made recommendations with respect to its expiration date. Excluded also are general conspiracy statutes which may be held to cover many types of subversion, laws against incitement to crime generally, and numerous other measures effective during wartime only.

The effect of these general laws against subversive activities is to penalize the advocacy in any manner of the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state by force or violence, or by other unlawful means. It is true that each of the statutes, by whatever name it is designated—whether criminal anarchy, criminal syndicalism, or sedition—defines the term for its own purposes, and there are numerous variations in the terminology used, but the practical effect of each would probably be very similar. The statutory lines of distinction between these different offenses is so fine as in many instances to be almost indistinguishable.

#### *Sedition*

Sedition might be termed a mild form of treason. Treason implies the use of force or violence against the government, seeking its overthrow by levying war or giving aid and comfort to its enemies. Sedition has a similar connotation, but its objectives are sought by means of oral or printed utterances, or similar acts by which the state is held in contempt, people are incited to flout its laws, and it is made difficult for the state to carry out its inherent governmental functions. Open violence is not involved, but the tranquillity of the state is disturbed.

Although the terminology used in criminal syndicalism and criminal anarchy statutes is relatively uniform, there is greater variance in the wording of sedition laws. The Illinois sedition statute may be considered representative:

"It shall be unlawful for any person openly to advocate, by word of mouth or writing, the reformation or overthrow, by violence or any other unlawful means, of the representative form of government now secured to the citizens of the United States and the several states by the Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the several states."

Many of these laws also specifically include the uttering, writing, or publication of abusive matter against the flag, military forces, or uniforms of the nation, when calculated to bring them into disrepute. In New Jersey, incidentally, the sedition statute expressly penalizes the inciting of an insurrection among any class or portion of the population. See also the Virginia statute which prohibits conspiracy for the incitement of violence between whites and negroes, and vice versa.

<sup>2</sup> Page 77 refers to original publication. See pp. 29 and 30, this report.

### *Criminal Anarchy*

Anarchism is the oldest of subversive ideologies and advocates the complete elimination of the state, usually by assassination of the heads thereof. The Alabama statutory definition might be considered typical of the various laws on this subject:

"Criminal anarchy is the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means. The advocating of such doctrine either by word of mouth or writing is a felony."

### *Criminal Syndicalism*

The main difference between anarchy and syndicalism is the fact that in syndicalism class distinction is introduced. The latter is a type of trade-unionism on an industry-wide basis. It advocates the class struggle between the worker and the property owner leading up to social revolution and collectivism. The workers are to gain control of each industry through strikes, sabotage, and the boycott. It is a militant movement aimed at both the property owner and the state. The goal is a free and flexible system of autonomous syndicates in all fields of production and distribution. Each industry is to be managed by the workers, then a federation of all fields of industry would be formed which in turn would comprise the state.

Criminal syndicalism statutes resemble a blend of criminal anarchy laws and measures against incitement to insurrection. They include not only the political, but also the industrial and economic spheres. The Iowa definition may be considered representative:

"Criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing is a felony. \* \* \*"

Normally a definition of this type would seem to apply to very few of the organizations which dare offer themselves to the American public. However, the courts of last resort of at least two states have held the advocacy of the doctrines of the Communist Party to be within the purview of criminal syndicalism statutes (*People v. Ruthenburg* (229 Mich. 315) ; *State v. Boloff* (138 Ore. 568)).

The most unusual criminal syndicalism statute is the Washington law which is virtually equivalent to a sabotage measure. It is directed specifically toward a number of local industries, and it might be noted that Washington is the only state having two separate laws against criminal anarchy and syndicalism.

### *Related Offenses*

Almost all of these types of general subversion statutes also declare it to be a felony to join any organization or voluntarily to assemble with any group advocating, justifying, or teaching subversive doctrines. A number of laws also prescribe a lighter penalty, usually punishment as a misdemeanor, for the owner or person in charge of a building knowingly to permit it to be used for furthering or advocating the unlawful overthrow of government. Persons who assemble for such unlawful purposes whether they belong to the subversive organization or espouse its doctrines, likewise are declared guilty of a misdemeanor.

In most states having laws of these types the dissemination of the forbidden doctrines in any manner is a felony. In North Carolina and New York, however, the editors or proprietors of books or other printed matter are specifically made chargeable for wilful publication of the matter contained therein. In North Carolina the managers or other officials of the association by which such publication is issued are also guilty of the offense if knowingly committed.

In addition to the above, several states require subversive organizations or oath-bound societies to register with the state. Registration laws have been enacted in some of the states. In North Carolina, incidentally, political or military organizations are absolutely forbidden, as is membership in such groups. South Carolina also has an espionage law.

### *Penalties for Breach of Subversion Laws*

Except as otherwise noted, violation of any of these laws against subversive activities is declared to be a felony, punishable by fine or imprisonment in the penitentiary, or both. Offenses considered less dangerous to the state are usually declared to be misdemeanors, punishable by imprisonment in the county jail, a smaller fine, or both. A few states also prescribe additional or unusual penalties for persons violating statutes against subversive activities.

The most common additional penalty specified for violation of subversion laws deals with the employment of violators by the state. For example, in Washington, no person convicted of criminal anarchy may be employed by the state or any department or subdivision thereof for a period of five years after conviction. In Tennessee a person guilty of sedition is incapable of bearing any office of honor, trust, or profit in the state government for three years, and may be required to give sureties for good behavior for as long as the court may require. In Illinois the compensation of state employees or officers is withheld for sedition, and such persons are ineligible for state civil service appointments. In several other states conviction of a person for sedition will bar him from public employment or public office, or will be cause for his dismissal.

A more striking penalty is that found in Pennsylvania. Persons there advocating and taking part in a movement to change the form of government, not in accord with the constitution, are ineligible to receive public assistance. New Jersey also denies subversive individuals the right to obtain a court order establishing their date and place of birth. Alaska, by the way, disbars attorneys engaged in such activities.

### *Résumé of General Subversion Laws*

As previously noted, although there is a difference in the terminology used in the various state laws against subversive activities, the practical effect and the purpose of these measures would be very similar. They are intended to prohibit and punish acts and utterances tending toward the overthrow of the American form of government by force or violence, or other unlawful means, or its change in any manner not provided by our constitutions and laws. Although there are some variances in the extensiveness of the activities covered by these statutes, such differences appear not to be of importance, and there is apparently no outstanding example in any particular state of a complete measure for curbing seditious activities. No statute has been found which would penalize subversive activities not tending toward the unlawful overthrow of government, with the exception of the inclusion in some general sedition statutes of a prohibition on the advocacy of violence against a class of persons.

In any attempt to draft comprehensive measures to curb subversive activities, the Commission of course must weigh its proposals against constitutional guarantees of free speech, freedom of the press, and the right of lawful assemblage.

### SPECIAL TYPES OF SUBVERSION LEGISLATION

In addition to the general laws against subversive activities, a number of states have subversion measures of more specific application. For purposes of this memorandum, there might be included within this group the so-called red-flag statutes, laws against subversive political parties and candidates for office and loyalty-oath laws applying to teachers, public officers and employees, and others. As heretofore stated, a number of states also have laws making subversive activities a reason for discharge of state employees, or prohibiting certification of such persons for civil-service appointments.

### *Red Flag Laws*

The most common type of specific legislation designed to suppress the spread of subversive activities are the red-flag laws, found in most of the States. These measures prohibit the display of certain flags and other emblems as symbols of the advocacy or belief in revolution or radical activities antagonistic to the American form of government. The West Virginia statute is summarized as follows:

"It shall be unlawful for any person to have in his possession or to display any red or black flag, or to display any other flag, emblem, device, or sign of any nature whatever, indicating sympathy with or support of ideals, institutions, or forms of government, hostile, inimical or antagonistic to the form or spirit of the Constitution, laws, ideals, and institutions of this State or of the United States."

The statute, however, is somewhat broader than many laws of this type, since it declares the mere possession of the prohibited emblem to be unlawful. Ordinarily violations of these laws are punished by fine or imprisonment, or a combination of both. Some states also have separate measures against the display of alien flags from public buildings, and prohibitions against the wearing of foreign uniforms. Various laws effective during wartime only are also contained in the statutes in a number of states.



*Exclusion From Ballot*

Legislation of more recent origin against subversive activities is directed at political parties and candidates for public office advocating doctrines inimical or hostile to the American form of government, especially communism. The Illinois provisions are perhaps representative of measures of this type:

"\* \* \* no political organization or group shall be qualified as a political party hereunder, or given a place on a ballot, which organization or group is associated, directly or indirectly with Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or other un-American principles and engages in activities or propaganda designed to teach subservience to the political principles and ideals of foreign nations or the overthrow by violence of the established constitutional form of government of the United States and the State of Illinois."

A few of the states got at this problem by outlawing certain organizations, either by name or by principles. Some go further, and in addition require each new political party to file an affidavit that it lacks affiliation with any foreign or subversive organization, and that it does not advocate the unlawful overthrow of the government. Other states attack not only the organization but the candidates, prohibiting all candidates having subversive principles or affiliations from appearing on the ballot.

*Loyalty Oath Statutes*

The belief in the general susceptibility of youth to revolutionary ideas, and the theory that they might be disseminated in the schools and colleges has led to the enactment of teacher loyalty oath laws in a number of states. These statutes provide generally that it shall be unlawful for any person to teach in an educational institution unless such teacher first take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and of the particular state. In Florida and South Carolina, however, it is required that a prospective teacher satisfy the examiners as to his loyalty to the Constitution, though apparently no oath is necessary.

A variety of penalties is provided for breach of these provisions. Some states, such as New York, merely declare teaching without subscribing the oath to be unlawful. Others invoke their perjury laws for giving false information. The usual provision, however, is that a teacher failing to take the required oath is to be denied employment. Fine or imprisonment is provided in some other states for persons teaching without taking the prescribed oath. Provisions are also found whereby the person in charge of an institution is to be fined for permitting such persons to teach, and prohibiting the payment of public funds to a teacher failing to take the required oath.

In Vermont, in addition to the law prescribing the loyalty oath for teachers, there is a measure prohibiting their engaging in propaganda or subversive activities. In New York there is a separate act forbidding the use of text books containing seditious matter in the public schools.

While these loyalty oath statutes generally are directed toward school teachers, in some states they apply also to public officers and employees. In still other states regulatory measures of one form or another apply specifically to legislators (Arizona), presidential electors (Georgia), the state guard (Louisiana), and state police (Utah). In addition, a few of the states expressly forbid use of school property or facilities for subversive activities.

*Table of State Legislation*

[X indicates legislation is in effect]

| State            | General subversion laws <sup>1</sup> | Exclusion from ballot | Incitement to violence | Regular public officers and employees | Loyalty oaths | "Red flag" | Other |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|------------|-------|
| Alabama.....     | X                                    |                       |                        |                                       |               | X          |       |
| Arizona.....     |                                      |                       |                        | X                                     | X             | X          |       |
| Arkansas.....    | X                                    | X                     |                        | X                                     |               | X          | X     |
| California.....  | X                                    | X                     |                        | X                                     |               | X          | X     |
| Colorado.....    | X                                    |                       |                        |                                       | X             | X          |       |
| Connecticut..... | X                                    |                       | X                      |                                       |               | X          |       |
| Delaware.....    | X                                    | X                     |                        |                                       |               | X          |       |
| Florida.....     | X                                    |                       | X                      |                                       | X             |            |       |
| Georgia.....     |                                      |                       | X                      | X                                     | X             |            |       |

See footnote at end of table.

Table of State legislation—Continued

[X indicates legislation is in effect]

| State               | General<br>subver-<br>sion laws <sup>1</sup> | Exclu-<br>sion from<br>ballot | Incite-<br>ment to<br>violence | Regular<br>public<br>officers<br>and em-<br>ployees | Loyalty<br>oaths | "Red<br>flag" | Other |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|-------|
| Idaho.....          | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Illinois.....       | X                                            | X                             | X                              | X                                                   |                  | X             | X     |
| Indiana.....        | X                                            | X                             |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             |       |
| Iowa.....           | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Kansas.....         | X                                            | X                             |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Kentucky.....       | X                                            |                               | X                              |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Louisiana.....      |                                              |                               | X                              | X                                                   |                  |               |       |
| Maine.....          |                                              |                               |                                | X                                                   |                  |               |       |
| Maryland.....       |                                              |                               |                                | X                                                   |                  |               |       |
| Massachusetts.....  | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| Michigan.....       | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     | X                | X             | X     |
| Minnesota.....      | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Mississippi.....    |                                              |                               |                                |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Missouri.....       |                                              |                               | X                              |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Montana.....        | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| Nebraska.....       | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Nevada.....         | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     | X                |               |       |
| New Hampshire.....  | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| New Jersey.....     | X                                            |                               | X                              |                                                     | X                | X             | X     |
| New Mexico.....     | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| New York.....       | X                                            |                               |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             | X     |
| North Carolina..... | X                                            |                               | X                              | X                                                   |                  |               |       |
| North Dakota.....   |                                              |                               |                                |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| Ohio.....           | X                                            | X                             |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| Oklahoma.....       | X                                            | X                             |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             |       |
| Oregon.....         |                                              | X                             |                                |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| Pennsylvania.....   | X                                            | X                             |                                | X                                                   |                  | X             | X     |
| Rhode Island.....   | X                                            |                               |                                |                                                     |                  | X             |       |
| South Carolina..... |                                              |                               |                                |                                                     | X                |               |       |
| South Dakota.....   | X                                            |                               |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             |       |
| Tennessee.....      | X                                            | X                             | X                              |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Texas.....          |                                              | X                             |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             |       |
| Utah.....           | X                                            |                               |                                | X                                                   |                  | X             |       |
| Vermont.....        | X                                            |                               |                                | X                                                   | X                | X             |       |
| Virginia.....       | X                                            |                               | X                              |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Washington.....     | X                                            |                               | X                              |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| West Virginia.....  | X                                            |                               | X                              |                                                     | X                | X             |       |
| Wisconsin.....      | X                                            | X                             |                                |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Wyoming.....        | X                                            | X                             |                                |                                                     |                  |               |       |
| Total.....          | 37                                           | 14                            | 13                             | 16                                                  | 20               | 33            | 8     |

<sup>1</sup> Sedition, criminal anarchy, or criminal syndicalism.

## APPENDIX A—FEDERAL STATUTES

*Treason* ((1790) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 1, 2).—Defined as levying war against U. S. or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the U. S. or elsewhere, while owing allegiance to the U. S. Penalty, death or, at the discretion of the court, not less than 5 years and not less than \$10,000; incapable of holding office under the U. S.

*Misprision of Treason* ((1790) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 3).—Concealment of knowledge of treason. Penalty, not more than 7 years and not more than \$1,000.

*Inciting Rebellion or Insurrection* ((1862) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 4).—Incitement, assisting or engaging in rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the U. S. or the laws thereof, or giving aid or comfort thereto. Not more than 10 years, or more than \$10,000, or both, and incapable of holding any office under the U. S. Members of armed forces who spread disaffection therein, or who incite to mutiny, etc., are punishable by death under Articles of War No. 4, 34 U. S. C. A., Sect. 1200.

*Criminal Correspondence With Foreign Governments* ((1799) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 5).—Prohibits unauthorized correspondence or intercourse, verbal or in writing, with foreign government with intent to influence measures or conduct of any foreign government or any officer or agent thereof, in relation to disputes or controversies with the U. S. Penalty, up to 3 years and \$5,000.

*Seditious Conspiracy* ((1861) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 6).—Forbids conspiracy by two or more persons to overthrow or destroy by force the government of the

U. S., or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the U. S., or by force to seize any property of the U. S. Penalty, not more than \$5,000, or not more than 6 years, or both.

*Recruiting For Service Against U. S. ((1861) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 7).*—Prohibits recruiting soldiers or sailors with U. S. to engage in armed hostility against the same, or opening within the U. S. a recruiting station for the purpose. Penalty, not more than \$1,000 and not more than 5 years.

*Enlisting To Serve Against The U. S. ((1861) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 8).*—Every person enlisted or engaged within the U. S. with intent to serve in armed hostility against the U. S. shall be fined \$100 and imprisoned not more than three (3) years.

*Undermining Loyalty, Discipline, or Morale of Armed Forces ((1940) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 9).*—Unlawful for any person, with intent to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the U. S.:

- (a) To advise or urge insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the U. S.
- (b) To distribute any written or printed matter or advising or urging.
- (c) Includes all branches of service, even merchant vessels commissioned in the Navy or in the service of the Army or Navy, including Master, Officers and crew of such vessels.

Penalty, up to \$10,000, or 10 years, or both, and ineligible for Federal employment for 5 years.

*Advocating Overthrow of Government By Force ((1940) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 10).*—Unlawful for any person:

(a) Knowingly or wilfully to advocate, teach, etc., the necessity or desirability of overthrowing or destroying any government in the U. S. by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government.

(b) With intent to cause the overthrow or destruction of any government in the U. S., to print, distribute, etc., any written or printed matter so advocating.

(c) To organize or help to organize, or to become a member of any society or group so advocating.

"Government in the U. S." defined to include states and their political subdivisions. Penalty, up to 10 years or \$10,000, or both, and ineligible for Federal employment for 5 years.

*Attempting or Conspiring to Commit Prohibited Acts ((1940) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 11).*—Unlawful for any person to attempt or to conspire to commit any of the acts prohibited by the two preceding sections (9 and 10). Penalty, up to 10 years, or \$10,000, or both, and ineligible for Federal employment for 5 years.

*Subversive Organizations Registration Act ((1940) 18 U. S. C. A., Sects. 14-17).*—Defines subversive organizations (Id., Sect. 14). Requires subversive organizations to register, exempts certain organizations and sets forth requirements of registration statement (Id., Sect. 15). Authorizes Attorney General to make, amend, and rescind rules and regulations necessary to carry out the foregoing (Id., Sect. 16). Penalty, up to \$10,000 or 5 years, or both. For making false statements, up to \$2,000 or 5 years, or both.

*Espionage Act ((1917) (in effect in war only) 50 U. S. C. A., Sects. 31-42).*—Unlawfully obtaining or permitting to be obtained information regarding national defense, unlawfully disclosing information affecting national defense, committing seditious or disloyal acts or words in time of war, conspiring to violate foregoing sections, harboring or concealing violators of law. Punishment ranges from fines up to \$10,000 and imprisonment up to 10, 20, or 30 years, and death.

*Interference With The Draft (Selective Service Act, Sect. 11 (1940), 50 U. S. C. A., Sect. 311).*—Interfering with the draft in various enumerated ways, failing to register or report for service, or conspiring to do such prohibited things; Subject to fine of not more than \$10,000, or to imprisonment up to 5 years, or both.

*Enticing Desertion From Armed Forces ((1877) 18 U. S. C. A., Sects. 94, 95).*—Applies to anyone enticing or attempting to entice desertion by any member of the armed forces, or harboring, concealing or refusing to surrender a deserter. Penalty, up to 3 years and not more than \$2,000. Penalties up to \$50 and 3 months, or both, for enticing workmen from arsenals or armories.

*Damaging Fortifications and Harbor Defenses* ((1898) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 96).—Injuring fortifications, harbor-defense system, etc., or wilfully violating any order or regulation of the President governing persons or vessels within defense sea areas. Subject to fine of not more than \$5,000, or imprisonment up to 5 years, or both.

*Trespassing Upon Military Reservations, etc.* ((1909) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 97).—Entering military reservations, post, fort, or arsenal for any purpose prohibited by law or regulation, or returning thereto after once being ejected: Punishable up to \$500 or 6 months, or both.

*Accessories To Crime* ((1794) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 550).—Whoever directly commits any offense defined in any law of the U. S., or aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces, or procures its commission, is a principal.

*Conspiracy* ((1867) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 88).—Conspiracy by 2 or more persons to commit any offense against the U. S. and any overt act by any one of them to effect the object of the conspiracy subjects each to penalties up to \$10,000 or 2 years, or both.

*Threats Against The President* ((1917) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 89).—Wilful threats by mail or otherwise to kill or harm the President of the U. S. Punishable up to 5 years, or \$1,000, or both.

*Acting As Foreign Governmental Agent Without Notice To The Secretary Of State* ((1917) 22 U. S. C. A., Sect. 233).—Anyone, other than a diplomatic or consular officer or attaché who acts in the U. S. as an agent of a foreign government without prior notification to the Secretary of State is subject to \$5,000, or 5 years, or both.

*Deportation of Alien Radicals* ((1920) 8 U. S. C. A., Sect. 137).—Any alien who, at any time, shall be or shall have been a member of any one of the following classes, shall be excluded from admission into the U. S.:

- (a) Anarchists.
- (b) Opposers of organized government.
- (c) Advocates of violent overthrow of government, assault on government officers, or destruction of property.
- (d) Publishers, etc., of such doctrines.
- (e) Affiliates of such publishers, etc.

Provision for deportation of such aliens already within the U. S. Penalty, for unlawful return after deportation—up to 5 years, and deportation again following imprisonment.

*Naturalization Requirements* ((1906) 8 U. S. C. A., Sect. 735).—Before being naturalized, petitioner must take oath in open court to support Constitution of the U. S. and to renounce all allegiance to any foreign sovereignty, etc. By Sect. 705 of Title 8, naturalization is denied to any person who advocates overthrow of government, etc. (Provisions almost identical to Deportation Act, supra.)

*Mailing Obscene or Indecent Matter* ((1909) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 334).—Prohibits, under penalties up to 5 years and \$5,000, the mailing of any obscene or indecent matter. The term "indecent" is expressly defined to include matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination.

*Mailing Matter Which Violates Espionage Act, etc.* ((1917) 18 U. S. C. A., Sects. 343, 344).—Matter is declared to be nonmailable which violates Espionage Act, or which contains anything advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the U. S.

*Importation of Subversive Literature* ((1913) 19 U. S. C. A., Sect. 1305).—Prohibits all persons from importing into the U. S. any printed matter advocating treason or insurrection against the U. S., or forcible resistance to any law thereof. Provision for confiscation and severe penalties against any government officer or employee aiding in such unlawful importation.

*Affidavits by Union Officials* ((1947) 80th Congress, 1st Session, Ch. 120, P. L. 101).—This act, entitled the "Labor Management Relations Act, 1947," but more commonly known as the "Taft-Hartley Law," among other things requires affidavits of union officials that they are not members of the Communist party.

*Appropriation Acts.*—Mostly all, including the Hatch Act (Sect. 9-A), forbid use of funds in payment for services, etc. to communists and the like.

*False Statements or Entries* ((1948) 18 U. S. C. A., Sect. 1001).—This is a recent re-enactment of another statute which heretofore combined both fraud and false statements. The provisions were separated in the revision of the criminal code and this statute is the one under which false statements in loyalty tests will be punished.



## APPENDIX B—STATE STATUTES (By States)

## ALABAMA

*Criminal Anarchy (Code 1940, Title 14, sects. 19-22).*—It is a felony to conspire, consort or collude with, or induce, aid, advise, etc., in any manner, any person to subvert, overturn, destroy or change the form of government of the state or U. S. by force or violence, or other than by orderly process of law. Penalties include loss of state citizenship. Organizations so advocating are declared illegal and denied the rights of political party, subject to dissolution or injunction against carrying on such function, and persons participating in such organization or meeting, so advocating are guilty of felony.

*Sedition (Session Laws 1947, Chap. 640).*—The advocacy in any manner of the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of the executive officials of government, or any unlawful means, or the justification of such doctrine, is a felony—also to become an organizer or a member of a group or assembly advocating such.

## ARIZONA

*Regulation of Teachers (Code 1939, Sect. 54-1002).*—Loyalty oath statute.  
*Regulation of Legislators (5th Spec. Sess. 1948, House Concurrent Res. 4).*—Loyalty oath statute.

## ARKANSAS

*Sedition ((1943) Session Laws, Mar. 15, pp. 465-468, No. 221).*—Advocating or encouraging violence, sabotage or disloyalty punishable as a felony. Racial disorders, prejudices, or hatreds are included.

*Regulation of State Employees (1943) Id., Mar. 18, pp. 531-532, No. 249).*—Unlawful for any person employed in any capacity by the State of Arkansas to have membership in any party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government. Punishable as a misdemeanor, subject to fine of not less than \$50 or more than \$250. Persons convicted shall be removed by the Governor and thereafter rendered ineligible to hold any office or employment in the State.

*Criminal Anarchy ((1941), Id., Mar. 26, pp. 754-755, No. 292).*—This statute is, in effect, a combination of provisions both against sedition and anarchy. It outlaws the advocacy verbally or in writing of the overthrow of government by force or violence, or by the assassination of any government official. It further prohibits organization of or membership in any such organization. Penalties:

(a) Up to 10 years or \$10,000, or both.

(b) Ineligible for employment by State for 5 years.

(c) Further provides, somewhat ambiguously, that no member of a nazi, fascist, or communist society, or affiliated group, shall be eligible for employment by the State.

*Exclusion From Ballot ((1941) Id., Mar. 26, pp. 755-757, No. 293).*—Directed specifically against the communist party and the communist international, but designed to cover any foreign or subversive organization advocating overthrow of government. This statute, similar to those in some of the other states, provides that affidavits must be filed by all parties with the Secretary of State, who is empowered to investigate and bar any subversive party from the ballot. Punishable by \$100 to \$1,000 fine and not more than 6 months' imprisonment. (See case of *Field v. Hall*, 201 Ark. 77, 143 S. W. (2d) 567, wherein constitutionality of this act was upheld and the court, in mandamus proceedings, refused to disturb the findings of the Secretary of State.)

*Conspiracy To Overthrow Government (1937 Code, Sect. 3571).*—Unlawful to conspire to usurp or overthrow present form of government or to obstruct justice.

## CALIFORNIA

*Regulation of State Employees ((1945) Session Laws, Apr. 27, p. 538, c. 123).*—Forbids employment by any state agency or court of any person who either directly or indirectly carries on, advocates, teaches, justifies, aids, or abets a program of sabotage, force and violence, sedition or treason against the Government of the U. S. or of California. Any such person, including teachers who already are so employed, shall be discharged and such person shall not be

compensated from the state treasury. Provision further is made (pp. 567-8) for disciplinary action against any employee who is or claims to be a citizen of a country with which the U. S. is at war, or a dual citizen of U. S. and of any such country, or who has taken an oath of or pledged allegiance to any such country, or who commits any act of disloyalty to the U. S. or its flag, or obstructs the war effort or defense preparations of the U. S.

*Regulation of Schools* ((1945) *July 10*, pp. 2301-2, c. 1213).—Use of school property forbidden by any individual, society, group, or organization which advocates, or has as one of its objects, the overthrow of the government of the U. S. or of the state, by force, violence, or other unlawful means. Any person who is affiliated with any such organization is characterized as a subversive element. Governing Board shall determine who is a subversive element and is empowered to demand affidavits of facts. *Perjury statutes are made applicable thereto.*

*Regulation of Public Officers* ((1941) *Id.*, *July 19*, pp. 3228-9 c. 1281).—Adds a section to the Political Code, rendering supporters of foreign governments, and the like, ineligible to hold public office. Designed to curb 5th column and permits anyone to purge himself of a foreign oath by petitioning Court and renouncing such allegiance.

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1919) *Gen. Laws, Deering, 1937, Act 8428*).—Anyone who in any manner by words, publications, or conduct, advocates, aids, etc., or justifies the doctrine advocating commission of crime, sabotage or unlawful acts of force and violence or terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control or political change is guilty of felony—also organizing or becoming a member of a group or assembly advocating such.

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1940) *Elections Code, Sects. 2540.3-4*). Similar to Arkansas statute. Applies to any party using the word "communist" in its name or which is affiliated with the communist party of the U. S.

*Subversive Organizations Registration Act* ((1941) *Session Laws, April 25*, pp. 1236-1240, c. 183).—Requires registration with and detailed information to the Secretary of State by every corporation, association, society, camp, group, bund, political party, assembly, and every other body of two or more persons or members which directly or indirectly advocate overthrow of government. Penalty, fine of \$1,000—\$10,000 against the organization; \$500—\$5,000 and 6 months to 5 years for officers, directors, trustees, etc.; \$10—\$1,000 and 10 days to one year for knowingly becoming or remaining a member of a subversive organization.

*Fact Finding Committee* (1947-1948).—Commission established to investigate and report on subversive activities.

#### COLORADO

*Sedition and Criminal Anarchy* ((1919) *Stat. Ann.*, 1935, c. 48, *Sects. 15-29*).—Advocating overthrow of government of U. S. or of Colorado defined as anarchy and sedition and made a felony; likewise, advocating destruction of life or property or personal injury either as a general principle or in particular instances, as a means of affecting governmental, industrial, social, or economic conditions; defining and making unlawful anarchistic and seditious associations and societies; serving as an officer or representative thereof; distributing any pamphlets or literature advocating any of the foregoing; and conspiring to do any of these things. Penalty: Not exceeding 20 years, or \$10,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Stat. Ann.*, 1935, c. 146, *Sects. 235-237*).—Loyalty oath statute.

#### CONNECTICUT

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence* ((1923) *Gen. Stat. 1930, Sec. 6072*).—Advocating damage to public or private property or assault upon Army, National Guard, or police force, or injury to any class or body of persons. Penalty up to 10 years or \$5,000.

*Sedition* ((1939) *Id.*, *Sec. 6039*).—It is unlawful to speak, write, distribute, etc., any disloyal, scurrilous or abusive matter, concerning the form of U. S. government, its military forces, flag or uniforms, or any matter intended to bring them into disrepute, or which creates or fosters opposition to organized government—also to utter in an assemblage any doctrine or propaganda intended to injure U. S. or state government. Penalty, up to 20 years, \$10,000, or both.

## DELAWARE

*Sedition* ((1931) *Rev. Code, 1935, Sect. 5156*).—Defined as any verbal or written or printed utterance which proximately causes any violence or demonstration of violence against either the U. S. or Delaware, and any part in organizing or becoming or remaining a member of any organization which advocates such purpose. Punishable by fine of \$100 to \$10,000 and imprisonment not exceeding 20 years; either or both.

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1935) *Id., Sect. 1810*).—No political party shall be recognized or given a place on the ballot which advocates the overthrow by force or violence, or which advocates or carries on a program of sedition or of treason by radio, speech, or press, of our local, state, or national government. Affidavit required of all new parties.

## FLORIDA

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence* ((1866) *Comp. Gen. Laws, Sect. 7133*).—Prohibits incitement of insurrection or treason, or attempt thereof by means of verbal or written utterance or other means.

*Criminal Anarchy* ((1941) *Session Laws, Apr. 22, pp. 59-60, c. 20216*).—Criminal anarchy, communism, nazism, and fascism prohibited, defined, and made a felony, subject to severe punishment. Statute further makes it unlawful for any owner, agent, etc., of any building knowingly to allow communist meetings therein.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Stats. 1941, Sect. 231.18*).—Loyalty oath statute.

## GEORGIA

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence* ((1866-72) *Code Ann. 1936, Sects. 26.901-904*).—Similar to Florida's statute. Enacted during Civil War.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Session Laws 1935, Res. 54*).—Loyalty oath statute.

*Regulation of Presidential Electors* (*Act approved Oct. 2, 1948*).—Loyalty oath required.

## IDAHO

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1917) *Code Ann. 1932, Sects. 17.4401-4*).—Defined as the doctrine which wilfully and maliciously advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. Criminal syndicalism applied to certain specific acts and made punishable as a felony and by imprisonment for not more than 10 years; or by fine of not more than \$5,000, or both. "Criminal syndicalist assembly" defined and participants made subject to similar penalties. Also, the owner, agent or caretaker of any place, building or room permitting such unlawful assemblage made subject to imprisonment for not more than one (1) year, or fine up to \$500, or both.

## ILLINOIS

*Regulation of State Employees* ((1945 *Session Laws, July 17, p. 530, Sect. 6*).—Members of communist, nazi, and fascist organizations barred from State Civil Service.

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *amended 1943, Vol. 2, May 11, pp. 99, 141, Sects. 7-2, 10-2; Rev. Stat., 1947, ch. 46, secs. 7-2, 8-2, 10-2*).—Bars Communist Party from ballot. Similar to laws enacted in other states. Related statutes disqualify the Communist Party from making nominations for public office (Ill. 1941, vol. 1, p. 604) and from qualifying under the primary election law (Ill., 1941, vol. 1, July 1, p. 607).

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence* ((1861) *Rev. Stat., State Bar Ass'n ed., 1939, c. 134, Sects. 10-11*).—Applies to riot, rebellion, and insurrection.

*Sedition* ((1919) *Id., c. 38, Sects. 558-560, 564*).—Unlawful to advocate orally or in writing the reformation or overthrow of representative form of state or U. S. government by violence or other unlawful means or to distribute material advocating such—also membership in, or giving aid to, or knowingly to attend meeting of, group so advocating.

*Regulation of Schools* (*Rev. Stat. 1947, c. 144, Sect. 48.8*).—Use of University of Illinois facilities withheld from subversive organizations.

*Compensation of State Employees and Officers Withheld for Sedition* (*Rev. Stat. 1947, c. 127, Sect. 166a*).—Self-explanatory.



## INDIANA

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1945), *Session Laws*, Mar. 6, pp. 766-767, ch. 208, Sect. 117).—Because this is a model statute and is deemed of considerable importance to the Commission, it is quoted herewith, as follows:

"No political party or organization shall be recognized and given a place on or have the names of its candidates printed on the ballot used at any election which advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the local, state, or national government, or which advocates, or carries on, a program of sedition or of treason, and which is affiliated or cooperates with or has any relation with any foreign government, or any political party or group of individuals of any foreign government. Any political party or organization which is in existence at the time of passage of this act, or which shall have had a ticket on the ballot one (1) or more times prior to any election, and which does not advocate any of the doctrines the advocacy of which is prohibited by this act, shall insert a plank in its platform that it does not advocate any of the doctrines prohibited by this act. No existing or newly organized political party or organization shall be permitted on or to have the names of its candidates printed on the ballot used at any election until it has filed an affidavit, by its officers, under oath, that it does not advocate the overthrow of local, state, or national government by force or violence, and that it is not affiliated with and does not cooperate with nor has any relation with any foreign government, or any political party, organization, or group of individuals of any foreign government. The affidavit herein provided for shall be filed with the state election board or the county election board having charge of the printing of the ballot on which such ticket is to appear. The election board with which such affidavit is filed shall make, or cause to be made, such investigation as it may deem necessary to determine the character and nature of the political doctrines of such existing or proposed new party and the expense paid by the state treasury out of funds not otherwise appropriated, provided the amount of such appropriation shall not exceed five hundred dollars (\$500); and the expense of the investigation by the county election board shall be paid out of the funds in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, provided the amount of such appropriation shall not exceed three hundred dollars (\$300); and if the board is of the opinion that such existing or proposed new party advocates doctrines which are in violation of the provisions of this act, or that any of the statements in said affidavit are false, the board shall not permit such ticket or candidates on the ballot."

*Sedition* ((1919) *Burns Stat. Ann.*, 1933, Sects. 10,-1301-3).—Unlawful to advocate, incite, publish, etc., the overthrow of government of state or U. S. by force, or by physical injury to personal property, or by general cessation of industry. Penalty up to \$5,000, five (5) years, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Stat. Ann.* 1933, Sects. 28-5112 to 28-5114).—Loyalty oath statute.

*Regulation of Public Officers* (*Stat. Ann.* 1933, Sect. 49-303).—Seditious persons not to hold public office.

## IOWA

*Sedition* ((1917) *Code*, 1939, Sect. 12900).—Persons inciting or attempting to incite insurrection or sedition among a portion or class of the population to be punished. Any person who by speech, writing, or any means shall advocate subversion and destruction by force of government of state or U. S. or attempts to encourage opposition to such government is guilty of misdemeanor—also membership in such organization.

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1919) 1946, Sects. 689.4 to 689.14).—Advocacy in any manner by speech, writing, etc., of doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform is felony. Includes justifying such doctrine or organizing or assembling with groups so advocating.

## KANSAS

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *Session Laws*, Apr. 7, pp. 336-7, c. 231).—Bars communist party specifically by name, but also applies to other subversive parties. Similar to statutes of other states.

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1920) *Gen. Stat.* 1935, Sects. 21.301-4).—Defined as "the doctrine which advocates crime, physical violence, arson, destruction of property, sabotage, or other unlawful acts or methods, as a means of accomplish-



ing or effecting industrial or political ends, or as a means of effecting industrial or political revolution, *or for profit.*" (The italicized words do not appear in other statutes.) Applied to specific acts and made punishable by 1-10 years and fine of not more than \$1,000, either or both. Provision against use of premises for such unlawful purposes—\$100-\$500; 60 days-1 year, or both.

*Sedition (Gen. Stat. 1935, Sect. 21-203).*—Applies to joining revolutionary societies.

## KENTUCKY

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1920) Baldwin's Rev. Stat. 1936, Sect. 432.020).*—It is an offense for any person to commit, aid or counsel any crime, physical violence, destruction of property, intimidation, etc., or other unlawful acts or methods to accomplish any political end or to bring about political revolution. Penalty up to 21 years, \$10,000, or both.

*Sedition ((1920) Id., Sect. 432.030).*—It is a felony to advocate or suggest in any manner any public disorder or resistance to, or change or modification of, the government, constitution or laws of U. S. or state by force or other unlawful means. It is a felony to teach or publish any doctrine, advocating, etc., criminal syndicalism or sedition, or to organize or be member of organization advocating such. Penalty, up to 21 years, \$10,000, or both.

*Conspiracy to Commit Specific Acts of Violence ((1947) Session Laws).*—Applies to intimidation or injury of individuals and damage to property. Applied in labor disputes.

## LOUISIANA

*Regulation of State Guard ((1942) Session Laws, July 2, pp. 55-56, No. 5).*—Members of the State Guard required to take oath that they do not belong to subversive organization. Sedition within the State Guard punishable by Court Martial.

*Incitement to Specific Acts of Violence (Crim. Code 1942, Art. 115, Sect. 740-115).*—Prohibits incitement of insurrection or sedition among any portion or class of the population, or attempt by writing, speaking, or any means to do so.

NOTE.—Louisiana had a regular statute on sedition which was enacted in 1917, but repealed in 1942. In 1942 the State also enacted a statute making it unlawful to teach disloyalty or to urge refusal to honor the governments and flags of the U. S. and of Louisiana. This, however, was a temporary measure which was designed to expire automatically at the end of the war.

## MAINE

Nothing of interest found.

## MARYLAND

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence ((1862) Code, Art. 27, Sect. 608).*—This is a very old statute applying to treason against the state. It prohibits secret or public meetings, or secret clubs to encourage secession of Maryland from the U. S. It is cited only because of its historical interest and because it appears still to be on the statute books.

*Commission on Subversive Activities (1948).*—Senate Joint Resolution No. 2 established this Commission as a temporary commission for the sole purpose of making this report, and requires formulation and submission of legislative program to 1949 Legislature.

*Regulation of State Employees and Public Officers ((Constitutional Amendment) Acts 1947, c. 721).*—Approved by electorate, November 2, 1948. "No person who is a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of Maryland through force or violence shall be eligible to hold any office, be it elective or appointive, or any other position of profit or trust in the Government of or in the administration of the business of this State or of any county, municipality or other political subdivision of this State." Note, however, that it applies to members only, not to other subversive individuals.

## MASSACHUSETTS

*Criminal Anarchy ((1919) Laws, 1913, ch. 264, Sect. 11).*—It is a felony to advocate, advise, counsel, etc., in any manner the assault on a public official, killing of any person, unlawful destruction of property, or overthrow by force or violence

of government of state. Persons convicted of violation of this section not to perform duties of teacher or administrator in public or private educational institution, and such performance can be restrained by court. Further penalty up to \$1,000, 3 years, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers (Session Laws 1948, ch. 160).*—Loyalty oath statute.

#### MICHIGAN

*Sedition ((1935) Stat. Ann. 1938, Sect. 28.241-3).*—Prohibits advocacy of overthrow of government of U. S. or of any state by force or violence. Provides that it shall not be construed to abridge freedom of speech or press, or peaceful picketing. Penalty, not more than 5 years or \$5,000, or both.

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Id., Sect. 28.235-6).*—The advocacy in any manner by word of mouth, writing, etc., of the duty or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform, etc., or the justifying of such acts, or becoming an organizer or member of an organization or assemblage advocating such, is a felony. Penalty 10 years, \$5,000, or both.

*Subversive Organizations Registration Act ((1947) Session Laws, No. 134).*—Requires subversive organizations to register and to identify their published material. Penalty, up to 5 years, \$5,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers (Mason's 1940 Supp., Sect. 7615).*—Loyalty oath statute.

#### MINNESOTA

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1917) Laws 1917, Sect. 10057-60).*—It is a felony to advocate in any manner by word of mouth, writing, etc., the doctrine advocating crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as means of accomplishing industrial or political ends; also to be a member of, or assemble with, group advocating such. Penalty, 10 years, \$5,000, or both. Owner, lessor, agent, or occupant of a building permitting such unlawful assemblage guilty of gross misdemeanor and subject to 1 year, \$500, or both.

#### MISSISSIPPI

Nothing of interest found. However, in 1942, Mississippi, like Louisiana, passed an act making it unlawful to teach disloyalty or to urge refusal to honor the U. S. or State flags. Like the Louisiana act, it was a temporary measure and was designed to expire automatically at the end of the war.

#### MISSOURI

*Conspiracy to Commit Specific Acts of Violence ((1845) Rev. Stat. 1939, p. 1019, Sect. 4270-71).*—Prohibits conspiracy to overthrow or interfere with government, to levy war against any part of the people, or to remove them forcibly out of the State, or from their habitations. Note that this statute ante-dates the Civil War.

#### MONTANA

*Sedition ((1919) Rev. Code, 1935, Sect. 10737-8).*—The uttering, printing, writing, publishing, etc., of disloyal, profane contemptuous slurring, etc., language about U. S. government or form of government of U. S., U. S. Constitution or flag, soldiers or sailors of U. S. or uniforms of such, etc., or any language calculated to bring such into contempt, scorn or disrepute, or language calculated to incite resistance to U. S. or state authority, etc., is unlawful. Penalty, fine of from \$200-\$20,000 and imprisonment from 1-20 years.

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1918) Id., Sect. 10740-4).*—It is a felony in any manner to urge the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, force, destruction of property, etc., or other unlawful acts or methods as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends, or revolution, etc., to be a member of organization or assembly advocating such. Penalty, \$200-\$1,000; 1-5 years. Further inhibition against use of premises, punishable as misdemeanor.

NOTE.—In 1941 Montana passed a temporary war measure designed to insure the reemployment in State and Civil Service of veterans and prohibited the filling of any such vacancy with a communist or member of the German-American Bund. Why the act was limited to vacancies created by military service and

why it did not, instead, prohibit the appointment or employment of communists, etc., in all positions of state employment, are not apparent.

*Regulation of Teachers (Rev. Code 1935, Sect. 1327.1).*—Loyalty oath statute.

## NEBRASKA

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Rev. Stat. 1943, Sects. 28.815-17).*—It is a felony by word of mouth or writing, to advocate, suggest, etc., the propriety, necessity, etc., of crime, physical violence, destruction or damage of property etc., or sabotage, as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform, or for profit—also to organize or be a member of an organization advocating such. Penalty, 1-10 years, up to \$1,000, or both.

## NEVADA

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Comp. Laws, 1929, Sects. 10560-3).*—It is a felony to urge, teach, justify, etc., in any manner, the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as means of accomplishing industrial or political reform, or to be a member or organizer of a group or assembly advocating such. Penalty, up to 10 years, \$5,000, or both. Prohibition against use of premises, punishable as misdemeanor.

*Regulation of Teachers (Stats. 1947, Sect. 322).*—Loyalty oath statute.

*Criminal Anarchy (Comp. Laws 1939, Sects. 10296-10299).*—It is a felony to advocate by speech, printing, etc., or in any manner, the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination, or other unlawful means—or to be a member of assembly advocating such.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Sedition ((1919) Pub. Laws 1926, ch. 394, Sec. 26, 28-30).*—Prohibits advocacy of overthrow or change in government of U. S. or New Hampshire, or interference with any public or private right by force or unlawful means. Also prohibits assembling for such purposes; likewise, introducing into the state, publishing, distributing, or having in possession for distribution any matter including pictures, advocating overthrow. Penalty, up to 10 years, or \$5,000, or both, and injunction provision for destruction of books, pictures, etc.

## NEW JERSEY

*Criminal Anarchy ((1902) Rev. Stat. 1937, Vol. 1, Sec. 2: 173-7-9).*—Prohibits advocating anarchy, becoming a member of an anarchistic organization or society or introducing or circulating any printed matter inciting or tending to incite anarchy. Penalty, not more than \$2,000 nor 15 years, or both.

*Incitement to Specific Acts of Violence ((1908) Id. 2: 173-10-11).*—Prohibits advocating the burning or destruction of property; assaults upon the Army, National Guard, or police force; killing or injuring any class of persons or any individual; and the publishing or circulation of any book, etc., tending to incite such unlawful acts. Penalty, up to 7 years, \$100-\$2,000, or both.

*Sedition ((1918) Id. 2: 173-12-22).*—Prohibits:

(a) Inciting or attempting to incite insurrection or sedition. Penalty, not more than \$10,000, nor more than 20 years, or both.

(b) Advocating subversion or destruction of State or Federal Government. Not more than \$2,000 or 10 years, or both.

(c) Attending meeting or joining society advocating destruction of State or Federal government. Penalty, \$2,000, 10 years, or both.

(d) Printing or producing books, pamphlets, pictures, emblems, etc., inciting destruction of State or Federal government. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(e) Selling, distributing, or possessing books, pamphlets, pictures, emblems, etc., inciting destruction of State or Federal government. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(f) Letting rooms or buildings to organizations advocating destruction of State or Federal government. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(g) Hiring rooms or buildings for organizations advocating the above. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(h) Allowing use of building by such organizations. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(i) Displaying red or black flag or other emblem inciting destruction of State or Federal government. Up to \$2,000, 15 years, or both.

(j) Displaying flag, picture, etc., advocating overthrow of government. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

(k) Opposing enlistments or advocating noncorporate with Federal government in carrying on war. Up to \$2,000, 7 years, or both.

#### Miscellaneous

(a) *German-American Bund Auxiliary*.—Charter repealed and trustees directed to dispose of its property and terminate its business forthwith. (1941), Session Laws, June 3, p. 571, ch. 185.

(b) *Bar to Order Establishing Date and Place of Birth* ((1942) *Id.*, May 2, p. 348-50, ch. 95).—Prohibits the Courts from entering any such Order in the case of any person who is engaged in, or who believes in, or who belongs to any organization which advocates overthrow of government.

(c) *Subversive Activities Investigation Commission* ((1947) *Assembly Concurrent Res. No. 11*, April 7, 1947).—Governor directed to appoint Commission to investigate subversive activities within the public schools and all other schools and Universities within the State. Report to be filed and legislation recommended.

*Regulation of Teachers* (Rev. Stats. 1937, Sect. 18:13-9).—Loyalty oath statute.

#### NEW MEXICO

*Sedition* ((1919) *Stat. Ann.* 1929, Sec. 35.3101-5).—Prohibits any act aimed at destruction of government, or which is antagonistic to or in opposition to organized government, inciting revolution or opposition to such government. Employers knowingly employing persons so engaged are punishable. Penalty, up to 10 years, or \$1,000, or both. Note: Held unconstitutional in *State v. Diamond* (1921), 27 N. M. 477.

#### NEW YORK

*Regulation of State Employees and Teachers* ((1940) *Session Laws*, April 17, p. 1499-1500, ch. 564, *Superseding Laws* 1939, ch. 547).—Provides that no person shall be appointed to any office or position in the service of the State or of any civil division or city thereof, nor shall any person presently so employed be continued in such position, nor shall any person be employed in the public service as superintendents, principals, or teachers in a public school or any other state educational institution, who:

(a) Advocates or teaches the overthrow of government by force, violence, etc.

(b) Prints, publishes, edits, issues, or sells any book, paper or document advocating such doctrine.

(c) Organizes, or helps to organize or becomes a member of any such organization.

Further provides for right of appeal and hearing in open court for anyone aggrieved thereby.

*Criminal Anarchy* ((1902) *Thompson's Laws* 1939, Part 1, Art. 14, Sects. 160-166).—Defined and applied to any person advocating anarchy or assembling for such purpose. Penalty, up to 10 years, \$5,000, or both. Provisions against use of premises for such unlawful purposes. Not more than 2 years, or \$2,000, or both. Contains provision exonerating editors for publication of such matters, without knowledge, and when promptly disclaimed upon discovery. Also grants immunity from prosecution to witnesses who produce self-incriminating evidence.

*Subversive Organizations Registration Act* (*Thompson's Laws*, *Civil Rights Law*, Sect 53-56).—Registration of constitution, membership list, etc., required.

#### NORTH CAROLINA

*Sedition* ((1941) *Session Laws*, p. 48-49, ch. 37).—Unlawful in any manner wilfully to advocate, etc., the doctrine that the government of the state or U. S., or any political subdivision, shall be overthrown or overturned by force or violence or other unlawful means. It is a felony to advocate in any manner the duty, propriety, etc., of overturning government of U. S. or political subdivision by force or violence, or other unlawful means, or to print, disseminate, etc., writing, advocating, etc., that doctrine. Includes membership in organization advocating such. Editors, proprietors, etc., of newspapers, etc., are chargeable with matter published therein, as are managers of associations, etc., by which such were issued.



*Incitement to Specific Acts of Violence* ((1868) *Gen. Stat. 1943, Art. 3, Sec. 14.8.10*).—Applies to rebellion and insurrection. Membership in secret political or military organizations also prohibited.

*Regulation of State Employees* ((*Gen. Stats. 1947, ch. 14, Sect. 12.1*).—This is not a separate statute but was enacted as an amendment to the sedition statute, *supra*. It provides that seditious individuals shall not be employed by the State and that persons already employed, who engage in subversive activities, shall be discharged.

## NORTH DAKOTA

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Rev. Code 1943, Vol. 2, Sect. 15-3701*).—Loyalty oath statute.

## OHIO

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1919) *Page's Gen. Code Ann., ch. 22, Sec. 1342-23-26*).—It is a felony to urge, by word of mouth or writing, the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, and other unlawful methods of terrorism, as means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. Includes joining assembly or organization advocating such. Penalty, up to 10 years, \$5,000, or both. Permitting use of premises for such unlawful purposes declared a misdemeanor.

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *Session Laws, June 4, p. 586-88*).—Subversive parties excluded. Statute similar to that in other states.

## OKLAHOMA

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *Session Laws, May 15, p. 91-93*).—Bars Communist Party by name; also the Third Communist International and all parties directly or indirectly affiliated therewith. Requires filing of affidavits with Secretary of State and makes provisions for investigation, hearing, and appeal. A companion statute renders members of subversive groups ineligible as candidates at primary elections (*Okl. 1941, May 12, p. 100-102*).

*Regulation of Public Officers and Employees* ((1941) *Id., May 15, p. 209-11*).—Subversive individuals disqualified from public office or State employment, and subject to removal. This statute contains an unusual provision in that it also subjects the appointing officer to removal for appointing a subversive individual.

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1919) *Stat. 1941, Title 21, Sec. 1261-4*).—It is a felony to advocate, etc., by word of mouth or writing, the doctrine which advocates, etc., the duty, propriety, etc., of crime, physical violence, destruction of property, or other unlawful acts or methods, as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends or revolution, or for profit. (Includes joining assembly or organization advocating such, which is punishable as a misdemeanor). Penalty, up to 10 years, \$5,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Harlow's Stats. 1944, ch. 70, Sect. 961*).—Loyalty oath statute.

## OREGON

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *Session Laws, April 2, p. 861, ch. 479*).—Provides that no person shall be a candidate for public office who is affiliated with any organization which teaches the doctrine of, or advocates, the overthrow of the government of the U. S. by force or violence. The name of no such person, as a candidate, shall be placed upon any ballot within the state and no such person shall be eligible for appointment to a public office. Note that this statute is directed against the individual and not against the party or organization.

*Conspiracy to Commit Felony* (1937).—A 1919 statute on criminal syndicalism was repealed and replaced by this general statute on conspiracy. Penalty, up to 3 years, \$1,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Comp. Laws Ann. 1940, vol. 8, Sect. 111-2102*).—Loyalty oath statute.

## PENNSYLVANIA

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1941) *Session Laws, July 28, pp. 526-530, No. 213*).—Subversive groups and parties prohibited from *nominating* candidates for public office. Provision for affidavits to be filed with Secretary of State, investigation, determination, and appeal to the courts.

*Regulation of State Employees* ((1941) *Ib.*, pp. 530-531, No. 214).—State employment denied to subversive individuals. Provision for removal for those already so employed. Further provision for hearing and appeal to the Courts.

*Sedition* ((1919) *Amended 1921, 1939. Purdon's Stat. Ann. 1940, Supp. Sect. 4207*).—Any writing, publication, printing, utterance, conduct, etc., individually or in combination, with intent:

(a) To cause outbreak of violence against state or U. S.

(b) To encourage persons to engage in conduct with view to overthrow or destroy government of state or U. S.

(c) To encourage persons to do any act to bring U. S. or state government into disrepute.

(d) To incite persons to harm public official, his property, or public property, is a felony.

Includes organizing or becoming member of assembly or group with policies advocating such. Punishment up to 20 years, \$10,000, or both.

#### Miscellaneous

(a) *Welfare and Public Assistance* ((1943) *Session Laws, No. 197, Sec. 6, p. 438*).—Except as otherwise specifically provided in the case of pensions for the blind, welfare and public assistance is denied to subversive individuals.

(b) *War Opposition* ((1861) *amended 1939, Purdon's Stat. Ann. 1940 Supp., Sec. 4203*).—Prohibits dissuading persons from entering service of the U. S. or Pennsylvania, with intent to oppose or subvert the State or Federal government.

(c) *Regulation of Police Force* (*Session Laws 1941, ch. 45*).—Subversive individuals disqualified as members of Police Force under Civil Service in cities.

#### RHODE ISLAND

*Criminal Syndicalism and Anarchy* ((1919) *Gen. Laws, 1938, ch. 604*).—Contains a special wording, viz, prohibiting "language intended to incite a defiance or disregard of the Constitution or laws of Rhode Island or U. S." Further prohibits advocacy of any change in form of government except as provided by Constitution or other laws, advocacy of assassination of government officials, or the destruction or damaging of any public or private property as an incident to a programme of force, violence or revolution, or wilfully displaying any flag or emblem proposed to be superior to the form of government of the U. S. Penalty, up to 10 years, \$10,000, or both. Statute contains membership and conspiracy clauses and any meeting for such purpose is unlawful assembly, subject to dispersal in the same manner as riotous, tumultuous, or treasonable assemblies.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Code 1942, Sect. 532½ (3)*).—Loyalty oath statute.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA

*Criminal Syndicalism* ((1918) *Code 1939, Sec. 13.0801-4*).—It is a felony to advocate, further, etc., in any manner, the doctrine, which teaches, advocates or practices crime, sabotage, violence or other methods of terrorism, or the destruction of life or property, for the accomplishment of social, economic, industrial or political ends—and includes possession, display, or publication or writing advocating such with intent to so advocate, or the organizing or assembling with persons advocating such, or acting in pursuance of that purpose. Penalty, 1-25 years, \$1,000-\$10,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers* (*Code 1939, Sect. 15.3702*).—Loyalty oath statute.

*Regulation of State Employees* (*Code 1939, Sect. 17.0107*).—Applies to aliens only and provides that no alien, who has not declared his intention to become a naturalized citizen of the U. S. shall be employed by the State or any political subdivision thereof.

#### TENNESSEE

*Exclusion From Ballot* ((1938) *Code, Sec. 1936 (1)*).—Bars subversive political parties, their individuals and candidates from any place on the ballot for public office. Requires affidavit of all new parties and makes violation a punishable offense.

*Incitement to Specific Acts Of Violence* ((1915) *Id., Sec. 11038*).—Prohibits advising, inciting, or conspiring to commit the offense known as "night riding." Punishable by 3-15 years.

*Sedition ((1857-8) Id., Sec. 11026).*—Any person uttering seditious words, spreading false news, writing or dispersing scurrilous libels against state or general government, disturbing or obstructing any lawful officer in executing his office, or of instigating others to cabal or meet together to contrive, suggest, etc., or incite rebellious conspiracies, riots, or any manner of unlawful feuds or differences, thereby to stir people up maliciously to contrive the ruin and destruction of peace, safety and order of government, or knowingly concealing such practices, is guilty of misdemeanor. Up to 1 year, \$1,000, or both; also bonds to keep the peace, and ineligibility to hold public office for 3 years.

## TEXAS

*Exclusion From Ballot ((1941) Session Laws, June 30, p. 877, ch. 547).*—Directed against the individual, rather than the party or organization. Provides that no person shall be permitted to have his name appear upon any official ballot as a candidate for any office unless he file with the Secretary of State an affidavit that, if elected, he will support and defend the Constitution of the U. S. and of Texas, and will resist any effort to subvert or destroy representative form of government. Specifically provides that no candidate or nominee of the Communist, Nazi, or Fascist party shall ever be allowed a place on the official ballot.

*Regulation of Teachers ((1941) Session Laws, June 30, pp. 1107-8, ch. 568).*—Faculty members of State-supported institutions subject to discharge for subversive beliefs or activities.

*Regulation of Faculty of State Institutions ((1941) Session Laws, July 23, p. 1355, ch. 617).*—All teachers and instructors of tax-supported schools, colleges, universities or other institutions of learning shall take oath of office and, subject to hearing, shall be discharged for subversive activity.

## UTAH

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Rev. Stat. 1933, Sects. 103.54-1-5).*—It is unlawful to advocate, suggest, justify, etc., in any manner, by word of mouth, printing, etc., the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, force, destruction of property, or other unlawful methods or acts, as means of accomplishing industrial or political ends, changes or revolution. Penalty, 1-5 years, \$200-\$1,000, or both. Similar provision for assembling for such unlawful purpose. Use of premises punishable as misdemeanor.

*Regulation of State Police Highway Patrol (Laws 1945, ch. 118).*—Persons with subversive affiliations barred from State Highway Patrol appointments.

## VERMONT

*Criminal Anarchy ((1919) Pub. Laws, 1933, Sects. 8370).*—Prohibits incitement through advocacy of assault upon or killing of public official, destruction of property, overthrow of state government by force or violence, or meeting with others to advocate violation or refusal to obey laws of state regarding preservation of peace and protection of life and property. Penalty, up to 3 years, or \$1,000, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers (Laws 1935, No. 88).*—Loyalty oath statute.

*Teachers Engaging In Propaganda (Pub. Laws, 1933, Sect. 4236).*—Subject to dismissal.

## VIRGINIA

*Conspiracy To Commit Specific Acts Of Violence ((1877-78) Code 1936, Sect. 4392).*—Prohibits conspiracy for incitement of colored population to violence against whites or vice versa. Penalty, 5-10 years.

*Sedition ((1948) Acts of Assembly No. 392, ch. 172).*—It is a felony to advocate any change, by force or violence, in the government of the state or any of its subdivisions, or of the U. S.—joining or assisting or otherwise contributing to any group or organization which, to the knowledge of the person, advocates such is also a felony. Act not to apply to advocating change in government by peaceful means. Penalty, \$1,000-\$5,000, 2-5 years, or both.

## WASHINGTON

*Criminal Anarchy ((1941) Session Laws, Mar. 24, pp. 676-7, ch. 215).*—This appears to be an amendment and reenactment of an earlier statute passed in

1909. It is a felony to advocate in any manner the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, assassination of executive officials, or by any unlawful means, or justifying such, or to become a member or assemble with a group so advocating. Penalty, up to 10 years, \$5,000, or both, and ineligible for state employment for 5 years.

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Rev. Stat. Ann., 1932, Sects. 2563.1-11).*—Unique—Whoever, with intent that his act shall, or who has reason to believe that it may, injure, interfere with, etc., agriculture, lumbering, mining, manufacturing, transportation, etc., wherein persons are employed for wage shall willfully injure or destroy, or attempt or threaten to do so, any property, mechanism, appliance, etc., is guilty of a felony—resembles sabotage laws. Includes anyone who, with intent to supplant, impair, etc., owner's management or control of any enterprise listed above, shall unlawfully take or retain, or threaten to do so, control of any property or instrumentality used in such enterprise. It is a felony also to advocate, etc., such doctrine or conduct in any manner, or to organize or become a member of assemblage advocating above. Penalty, up to \$5,000, 10 years, or both.

*Regulation of Teachers (Pierce's Code 1939, Sect. 4731-1).*—Loyalty oath statute.

*Incitement To Specific Acts Of Violence (Pierce's Code 1939, Sect. 8750).*—Inciting or encouraging a breach of peace or disrespect, or disrespect for law or courts, or permitting premises to be used for anarchy are declared to be a gross misdemeanor.

#### WEST VIRGINIA

*Sedition and Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Code Ann. 1937, Sect. 5912).*—It is unlawful to speak, print, communicate, etc., in any manner any doctrine in sympathy with or in favor of ideals, institutions, or forms of government hostile, inimical, or antagonistic to those existing under constitution and laws of state or U. S., or in sympathy with or in favor of crime, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as means of accomplishing economic or political reform, or in sympathy with or in favor of the overthrow of organized society, the unlawful destruction of property, or violation of law. It is a misdemeanor to uphold or justify organized insurrection of armed invasion.

*Regulation of Teachers (Code Ann. 1943, Sect. 1807).*—Loyalty oath statute.

*Incitement To Specific Acts Of Violence ((1849) Code Ann. 1943, Sect. 5911).*—Applies to justifying armed invasion.

#### WISCONSIN

*Exclusion From Ballot ((1941) Session Laws, May 15, pp. 145-6, ch. 105).*—No party shall be recognized or qualified to participate in any election if affiliated directly or indirectly with communist party of the U. S. or the third communist international, or any other foreign agency, political party, etc., engaged in subversive activities. The Secretary of State, with advice of Attorney General, shall determine which parties are eligible. Provision for appeal to the courts.

*Criminal Anarchy ((1903) Stats. 1945, Sects. 347.14-18).*—It is a felony to advocate, justify, etc., in any manner the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of executive officials of government, or any unlawful means—organizing or becoming a member of an organization, or voluntarily assembling with group advocating such doctrine is also a felony. Editors, proprietors, etc., of publications are chargeable with matter contained in such publications. Similar to New York and North Carolina statutes in this respect. Penalty, 3-10 years, up to \$5,000 or both.

#### WYOMING

*Exclusion From Ballot ((1941) Session Laws, Feb. 1, pp. 11-12, ch. 9).*—Excludes alien political parties. Similar to statutes in other states.

*Criminal Syndicalism ((1919) Comp. Stat. 1945, Ann. Art. 4, Sect. 9-401).*—Prohibits inciting, advising, advocacy, suggesting or encouraging crime as a means of coercion or for the accomplishment of any political or industrial reform, change or purpose in Wyoming or in any foreign state or country. Offense termed "incitement to crime" and made punishable up to 5 years, \$5,000, or both. Offenders also subject to peace bond and commitment for default of such recognizance.



## APPENDIX C—STATE STATUTES (BY SUBJECT MATTER)

As a convenient reference, the state statutes, as classified in Appendix B, may be grouped and summarized as follows:

*Incitement To Specific Acts of Violence.*—14 states, viz, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Note, however, that the Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia statutes, instead of being classified as "Incitement, etc.," are termed "Conspiracy" (To Commit Specific Acts of Violence). Also, the Maryland statute, a Civil War Measure, is now obsolete and hardly should be included.

Incitement to violence might be termed a mild form of conspiracy. These statutes are narrower in scope than sedition, anarchy and syndicalism acts, though somewhat overlap them, as heretofore indicated. The Colorado statute very nearly approaches the classification of "Criminal Anarchy."

*Sedition.*—21 states, viz, Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana (limited to State Guard), Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

In this group have placed all broad statutes against radical utterances, except those which are entitled anarchy or syndicalism statutes. The subject matter also overlaps those acts against "Incitement To Specific Acts Of Violence."

*Criminal Anarchy.*—12 states, viz, Alabama, Arkansas, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Massachusetts, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

For the most part this group derives from the New York Act of 1902. The Massachusetts and Vermont acts are narrower and might be classed under the heading of "Incitement To Specific Acts Of Violence." The Colorado statute is a combination of sedition and anarchy; the Rhode Island statute, a combination of criminal syndicalism and anarchy.

*Criminal Syndicalism.*—18 states, viz, California, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

*Exclusion From Ballot.*—14 states, viz, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The statutes assume variable forms, though all seek to accomplish the same purpose.

*Regulation of Schools, Teachers, Public Officers, etc.*—26 states, viz, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland (constitutional amendment), Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia.

These statutes are of recent vintage, all having been enacted during or since World War II. The most common among them are the so-called "Teachers' Loyalty Oath Statutes" which exist in 20 of these states.

## MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to the foregoing, there are various other types of state statutes which are considered to be of vicarious interest, but not of sufficient importance to be reviewed individually. For the information of the Commission these are classified as follows, i. e., Statutes:

*Against Opposition To War.*—13 states, viz, Florida, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

*Against Red Flags and Other Insignia.*—33 states, viz, Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

*Against Conspiracy.*—37 states, viz, all except Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Vermont.

*Against Incitement To Crime Generally.*—10 states, viz, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming. Common law crime in certain other states.

*Against Unlawful Assembly.*—43 states, viz, all except Arkansas, Indiana, Maryland, Mississippi, and Tennessee. (Common law crime in some of the other states, including Maryland. See *Kaefer v. State*, 143 Md. 151.)

Special statutes are directed against the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups in New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, and Washington.

Nebraska has a special statute requiring meetings to be held in the English language, and New Hampshire has a special statute for licensing parades.

NOTE.—There is included in virtually all criminal syndicalism statutes a provision against assembly for such unlawful purposes.

*Subversive Organizations Registration Act.*—3 states, viz., California, Michigan, New York.

*Oath Required of—*

Legislators: Arkansas.

Presidential Electors: Georgia.

State Guard: Louisiana.

Police Force: Pennsylvania.

## APPENDIX II

In connection with reports issued from time to time, the Committee on Un-American Activities is cognizant of the fact that supporters of Communist-front organizations and even members of the Communist Party, become disillusioned and aware of the true nature of the movement. In fact it is an objective of the committee to hasten such disillusionment and reeducation. The committee endeavors in its files and reports to record such repudiation wherever possible, and wherever there seems to be convincing evidence of genuine sincerity.

In other cases where the committee may have erred in reference to an individual or an organization, it desires to amend its records in order to avoid any injustice.

With these purposes in view the committee has decided to append the following correspondence and testimony.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
Washington, D. C., Wednesday, October 5, 1949.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 12:45 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Moulder, Richard M. Nixon, Francis Case, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Cowherd, will you raise your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you will give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COWHERD. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF YELVERTON COWHERD

Mr. Wood. Mr. Cowherd, the committee has received a request from you to appear before the committee for purposes stated in your communication, which I understand had reference to a report issued by this committee in June 1947 on Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Is that correct?

Mr. COWHERD. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. Wood. Our study of this report reveals that on page 4, and in the next to the last paragraph, mention is made of you by name, and it reads as follows:

"Yelverton Cowherd, signer of a resolution against the Dies committee in 1939, who appeared before the La Follette committee in 1937 to defend the case

of Joseph Gelders, was a member of the nominating committee at the first conference, according to its official proceedings."

Is that the part of the report to which you take exception?

Mr. COWHERD. That is one part. Gentlemen, I had not anticipated such a quick call. I have a file on this at home, but didn't have a chance to get it. I have it all pretty well in my head. I believe that is the part I referred to as a misstatement or misinference of fact.

Mr. WOOD. So far as we have been able to find, there is no other reference to you in this report. Do you recall any other?

Mr. COWHERD. Strangely, this print does not have the same location of paragraph as the copy I have. That paragraph, I believe, appeared at the top of a page, perhaps the next page, on my copy, and the part that was disturbing to me after I studied the whole report was that in the very beginning, in the part telling how the Southern Conference was formulated, there were inferences that it seems to me supported a conclusion on the part of anybody uninformed that I am positively a Communist or was positively a Communist.

Mr. WOOD. Will you point out to the committee where and in what manner this report leaves such an inference, because certainly this committee does not want to do an injustice to anybody; and I want you later to answer categorically whether the statements of fact related in that paragraph are true or not true.

Mr. COWHERD. I knew nothing about the report or the consideration of that matter until a university law professor wrote me a letter and asked permission to include my case in an article which he said he was preparing for the Harvard Law Review. Then I got a copy of the report, to see what it was all about, and studied it carefully.

This report, in the first paragraph of the introduction says: "In the early history of the organization, some well-intentioned persons were misled into joining. Many of them have since severed their connections on learning its true character," without putting a footnote and saying I was one of those who had nothing to do with the conference and was never an official, as was done with regard to Henry Fowler, that he had withdrawn and stating the reasons, which reasons were exactly the same as my own.

I was never a member. I attended whenever the thing was announced. As to having served on the nominating committee, I simply don't recall. But that paragraph did not go on to state the fact that I, too, had no longer associated with the conference since 1942. When Paul Robeson appeared in Nashville I threw up my hands and have had nothing to do with it since.

Mr. WOOD. Did you make any public statement about it?

Mr. COWHERD. No. It had never reached that importance in my mind.

Mr. WOOD. I believe the reason the committee made a footnote about Dr. Graham was that he made a public statement.

Mr. COWHERD. No. They made the footnote about Henry Fowler. They didn't do that about me, and they listed my name in the list of people where there was an inference they were Communists.

Being listed under the caption "Communist manipulation," I am an originator of Communist manipulation to anybody reading this report; they could not conclude anything else; and Dr. Graham and all the others will tell you I was the leader of the opposing faction, because I was area chairman of the Americanization committee of the American Legion at that time.

With regard to the statement that I appeared before the La Follette committee in 1937 to defend the case of Joseph Gelders, I was particularly offended by that.

Mr. WOOD. Is it true or not?

Mr. COWHERD. It is not true. I appeared before the committee, but not for that purpose. I appeared as chairman of the Americanization committee of the American Legion. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor was investigating the National Metal Trade Association, and it developed—I didn't know it then—that they were trying to tie up certain citizens in Birmingham with this organization they were investigating, and one of the individuals had an unlisted phone number and had been active with me in putting on Americanization committee programs.

Two FBI men came in my office one day and said they understood I had this individual's phone listing. He is now a General in the United States Army. I will mention his name if you want it, but I don't think that is necessary. I said: "Yes, I know him, and he has assisted me on my programs for the Americanization committee."

They said: "Do you have this telephone listing?" I pulled it out of my vest pocket and said: "Yes, that is true. What do you have in mind?"



Being an attorney, I became cautious, and I said: "Gentlemen, I believe I know what you are after, and I have nothing to hide. If you will get the proper process, telling me what documents you want, they will not disappear; I will produce them." I thought they were to be produced in court. Later I got a subpoena duces tecum to appear before the La Follette committee and bring documents.

In the course of that investigation, the name of Gelders was brought up, but I didn't appear to represent Gelders. I didn't defend him or condemn him. I have known Joe Gelders—heavens, he is about my age; I have known him practically all my life. His family is well thought of, but Joe has conducted himself in such a manner that he has been criticized. I know nothing about it, and tried to find out about him. I said: "I don't know if Joe Gelders is a Communist or not." And I don't know to this day. I said: "However, I have tried to find out about Joe Gelders, and everyone says he is honest."

There had been a beating of a man at that time—no, there had been a beating of Joe Gelders, and he was found in a ditch in bad condition and he was revived and brought back to health. This same man I had the number of, who is now a General in the Army—no, he is now in the National Guard—came into my office the morning Joe Gelders was flogged, and he said: "What are we going to do about this scoundrel Joe Gelders?" I said: "What do you mean by 'we'? I am not going to do anything."

Mr. NIXON. Who is Joe Gelders?

Mr. COWHERD. He was active in the formation of this conference and gave the impression, right or wrong, that he was acting directly for Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Whether he was or not, I don't know, but he certainly gave that impression.

Mr. NIXON. This report says that Joseph Gelders "was formerly secretary of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, which has been cited as subversive by Attorney General Biddle." The Daily Worker of April 6, 1938, reported that he protested against the arrest of Communists in Chattanooga. And the Sunday Worker of September 8, 1949 reported that he was leader of a lobby for the American Peace Mobilization which conducted a picket line about the White House and denounced President Roosevelt as a "war monger."

That is the record that the committee report has reference to.

Mr. CASE. Of course the worse the record of Joseph Gelders may be, the greater the injustice would be of associating Mr. Gelders' name with Mr. Cowherd seven or eight lines after mention of Mr. Gelders' record, if Mr. Cowherd did not appear for Mr. Gelders.

Mr. COWHERD. The testimony will show I was under subpoena duces tecum and the documents I produced were specified in the subpoena.

Mr. WOOD. We have a copy of the hearing.

Mr. COWHERD. It was an accurate report. It was sent to me for any corrections, and I had none to make.

The only time I read the Daily Worker was when I was told I was mentioned in the Daily Worker as representing the rubber workers, and I got a copy of the paper. I believe I wrote to the Daily Worker and got a copy, and as I remember, the reference to me was that the rubber workers might well have made a serious mistake in employing Yelverton Cowherd, the South's A-1 "Red baiter."

Here is my name between John P. Davis and Edward E. Strong and James W. Ford and Herman C. Nixon.

Mr. CASE. When was the first conference?

Mr. COWHERD. As I remember, it was 1937.

Mr. CASE. When did you withdraw or abandon any interest in or affiliation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Mr. COWHERD. I think it was after the conference in 1941—no, it couldn't have been 1941 because I was in a hospital in 1941. It may have been 1942. I have lived in Washington since May 1942 and it was before I came to Washington. It was after the Nashville conference.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you haven't had anything to do with the organization since May 1942?

Mr. COWHERD. Mr. Nixon, I had no connection with it at all. I have had no knowledge or information of it since then.

Mr. CASE. Did you serve as a member of the nominating committee at the first conference?

Mr. COWHERD. Mr. Case, I don't deny it but don't admit it. I don't remember.

Mr. CASE. You attended meetings?



Mr. COWHERD. I attended meetings until May 1942, but let me make this clear: I was a citizen of Birmingham, practicing law in the firm that had been the law firm of Hugo Black. I came into the firm with Crampton Harris and his stepson, George Brown. The United States Commissioner, the Honorable Louise O. Charleton, invited me personally to attend the conference. I was informed my esteemed friend, Hugo Black, then Supreme Court Justice Black, was to be presented the Southern Citizenship medal. All those things tickled my pride and I was glad to go to it.

When I got there I discovered those things working, and then I got heated about it and started working against them. The Honorable Louise O. Charleton was the first chairman, and Dr. Graham was the first permanent chairman, and with him I worked to keep those things out of the conference, and we finally got the resolution through to fight all forms of imperialism or dictatorship.

Mr. CASE. Can you produce any records of the conference or newspaper reports of the meetings which show your activities in that regard?

Mr. COWHERD. It was not publicized in the newspapers, and I was not mentioned in the records because I was not an official, but just in attendance, but Dr. Graham would verify what I am saying. I was a leader of the rightists in the movement.

Mr. CASE. I am reading from page 17 of the report, where the conclusion is set forth:

"The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is perhaps the most deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization. When put to the following acid test it reveals its true character:

"1. It shows unswerving loyalty to the basic principles of Soviet foreign policy.

"2. It has consistently refused to take sharp issue with the activities and policies of either the Communist Party, USA, or the Soviet Union.

"3. It has maintained in decisive posts persons who have the confidence of the Communist press.

"4. It has displayed consistent anti-American bias and pro-Soviet bias, despite professions, in generalities, of love for America."

In other words, you want the committee to understand that your activities in the conference, to the extent you attended their sessions, were opposed to these characteristics here described?

Mr. COWHERD. Definitely, because I had fought them all the way through.

Mr. WOOD. Are you sufficiently familiar with the later activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to give an opinion as to whether it did finally come to the point where it represented these criticisms?

Mr. COWHERD. Mr. Wood, I would be stating a falsehood if I stated that, but it was going in that direction when I left it; that is why I left it. I would say the first, while it may be true now, certainly was not true at the time I left the Southern Conference, because the Chattanooga conference before that is the one where we had the knock-down-drag-out fight on the resolution that Dr. Graham put across to fight all forms of imperialism or dictatorship. They opposed that resolution and wanted it to read to fight fascism only.

I am probably too old to be hurt much by what happens, but my youngest boy is 17 years old; he will be 18 in January. I was in the Navy and I know from my experience how his chances of promotion would be hurt if this name Yelverton Cowherd is not cleared up. He has the same name. That is a peculiar name. It is easy to peg and not easily forgotten, and it has not been smeared for 212 years. It appears in the records of Virginia since 1737. I just hate to pass that kind of name on to Junior through any laxity on my part to see that this is cleared up in as dignified a manner as it appears.

I have to brag. I don't know any way out of it. I know I am pure on this kind of charge. I have spent my life fighting this kind of thing I have been charged with espousing.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that this gentleman should have an opportunity, if he so desires, to file anything in the nature of a statement by Dr. Graham or anybody else to attest to what he is saying.

Mr. WOOD. I was about to suggest to the committee that we permit Mr. Cowherd to file any summary he desires.

Mr. CASE. On the statement that he has made here as to the facts, I can see that if I had left the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for the reasons he said he left it, he wouldn't want his name to be used and identified as it is identified here, in connection with an organization that is labeled as this organization is labeled in this report.

Mr. NIXON. What you mean is that if Dr. Graham, for example, could give a letter or statement to Mr. Cowherd that he, in turn, could give the committee,

to the effect that what Mr. Cowherd has stated was according to his memory too, that we would have some corroboration?

Mr. CASE. I have never seen this man before today, but he has been very positive in his statements, and I think he should have the opportunity to present some corroborating material.

Mr. WOOD. Without objection on the part of any member of the committee, I will say to you that the committee will be glad to see such information of that nature as you can furnish it. I would like to ask you one further question categorically. Did you sign a resolution against the Dies committee in 1939?

Mr. COWHERD. As I recall—I don't recall dates, of course—I am glad you asked the question. The only thing in my life I have ever joined which has later become known to me to be classified as a Communist-front organization was the National Lawyers' Guild. I did join that. They circulated such a resolution. A number of lawyers' names were on it, among whom was the one man I regarded as sufficient proof of authenticity and character for me to put my name, and that was Charlie Fahey. I put my name on it, on a resolution, and I won't say this was not the same resolution. I signed some resolution saying, in effect, that the methods of the Dies committee in publishing things about citizens without affording those citizens ample time to discredit them—just such a thing as is involved here—was a bad practice or un-American. I was still in Alabama at that time. Later I noticed in the newspapers that Charlie Fahey had dropped out of the National Lawyers' Guild, and I dropped out.

Mr. WOOD. You don't maintain membership in that organization now?

Mr. COWHERD. No, sir. I knew Charlie Fahey in Alabama. When he withdrew I did too, immediately.

Mr. NIXON. You withdrew because of the basic reason that it was Communist-infiltrated; is that it?

Mr. COWHERD. I didn't have any specific reason. When I saw Charlie Fahey's reason, he was rather politic about it but I could see he suspected it was under Communist domination, he may even have said it was, and when I saw that I withdrew.

Mr. CASE. How did you withdraw?

Mr. COWHERD. I simply did not pay my next year's dues.

Mr. CASE. You definitely did withdraw?

Mr. COWHERD. Yes.

Mr. CASE. When was that?

Mr. COWHERD. Back in 1940 sometime.

Mr. CASE. There isn't a member of this committee I know of who wants to penalize the sincere efforts of anybody to see that underprivileged people, or people unable to speak for themselves, have an adequate voice to right any injustice that may be carried on against them; and for myself I feel those efforts at some time could be attended with some risks. A person's motives can sometimes be misinterpreted. I think the tactics of the whole Communist organization is to cash in on sympathy that people may have for people who are underprivileged. That is what makes it a risk sometimes, because they attempt to capitalize on that.

For that very reason, I, personally, would want the committee's conduct to be circumspect and not penalize people who seek to right injustices of various sorts. I wouldn't want the committee to be guilty of doing that. At the same time, we have to try to carry out the functions of this committee, and that is to expose the activities of Communist-front organizations, or the Communist Party itself, to utilize people and organizations. It is wholly a question of facts. I think your statement here has been very straightforward. You got short notice and came up here without reference to material or books, and your statement has been very direct and straightforward, and while I still have an open mind on the thing, I did think you should have this opportunity, and I appreciate what the chairman has said, that opportunity would be given you to present supplementary material.

Mr. COWHERD. I only know of one thing, and that would be a statement by Dr. Frank Graham.

Mr. CASE. You referred to having served on the American Legion committee for Americanization.

Mr. COWHERD. That is right.

Mr. CASE. And it was in connection with that you really went before the La Follette committee?

Mr. COWHERD. That is right. In other words, there was an unlisted phone in the office of the United States Steel subsidiary in Birmingham. In that

office, right next door to the chief of police of the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., was a phone the number of which, we will say, was Main 1313. That is not the number. It had a 4 and a 6 in it. They had not been able to prove, apparently, that that phone was actually in those offices, but by proving I had the listing of this individual who was in that office, and that was the phone over which I called him, they used that to show the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. was helping the National Metal Trades Association at that time. That was the missing link.

Mr. CASE. How did you become a member of the Americanization committee of the American Legion?

Mr. COWHERD. I was very active in the American Legion. In fact, I was commander.

Mr. CASE. State commander?

Mr. COWHERD. No, Birmingham commander. At that time George Grant, my Congressman, was State commander. Congressman Grant knows me intimately. Incidentally, he told me he was supposed to be in attendance at the conference too. Brooks Hays was there.

Mr. CASE. Did George Grant have anything to do with your being chairman of the Americanization committee?

Mr. COWHERD. No. There was a county council, and they were trying to coordinate the work of the council under one head, and I was selected by this council to be area chairman to coordinate the work of the 14 posts.

Mr. CASE. Did George Grant know anything about your activities in that connection?

Mr. COWHERD. I am sure he will recall it, because he was active 200 miles farther down the State. Albert Rains is my intimate friend; George Grant; Bob Jones; Brooks Hays; Lister Hill; John Sparkman; we are all friends.

Mr. CASE. Are those men familiar with the fact that you were trying to prevent the southern conference from going Communist?

Mr. COWHERD. Brooks Hays would. He was in attendance. George Grant did not attend. Dr. Graham would be. They are the only Members of Congress I know at this time who would know about it.

Mr. MOULDER. Judging from your background and from the testimony you have given here, it appears to me you certainly are justified in appearing before the committee to vindicate and redeem your name in the report you referred to. May I suggest that in the event nothing further appears to refute this statement, the committee, if the facts so justify, should make a finding and order of record to redeem and vindicate your name and to remove this reference you have referred to.

Mr. COWHERD. That is the most I could hope for, and I thought this was an ethereal dream. I didn't think the committee would go that far.

Mr. WOOD. The furthest thing from the mind of this committee is to injure the reputation of anyone.

Mr. NIXON. I would suggest it might be issued as an addendum to the report, such as the note concerning Mr. Fowler, stating that upon hearing testimony by Mr. Cowherd the following facts were brought out and are presented to complete the record. In that connection, it seems to me the points that should be developed in any corroborative statements by Mr. Hays or Senator Graham would be, first, that you were in the anti-Communist bloc in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and that you left that organization in 1942. Second, I think it would be well to mention you were a member of the National Lawyers' Guild and left at the time the split occurred between Communists and anti-Communists.

I mention those two facts because those are additional facts which definitely would tend to establish an anti-Communist attitude.

Mr. CASE. And possibly George Grant or somebody familiar with your American Legion activities may add a statement about your activities in connection with the Americanization committee of the American Legion.

Mr. COWHERD. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chaillaux, the national director, was the one responsible for my appointment.

Mr. CASE. And he made the strongest speech against communism I have ever heard.

Mr. WOOD. Get us that information at your earliest convenience, and the committee then will take such action as the facts seem to warrant.

We are very grateful to you for coming here.

Mr. COWHERD. I am grateful to you gentlemen, as this has had me disturbed. (Thereupon, at 1:10 p. m. on Wednesday, October 5, 1949, the hearing was adjourned.)



## APPENDIX III

The following correspondence and accompanying material is self-explanatory and will clarify the status of various persons and organizations which have been mentioned in certain reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

EASTERN DIVISION, CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA,  
June 30, 1949.

Hon. ISIDORE DOLLINGER,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: This is to confirm the telephone conversation of Mr. Valuchek with you on June 28th, concerning the statement which appeared in the New York Times on June 26th about the American Slav Congress, issued by the Un-American Committee of the House.

The letter which we intend to send to the New York Times, I believe, explains the whole matter and proves without fear of contradiction that the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council, located in New York City, nor their officers, could be connected in any way with either the American Slav Congress, or with any un-American activities.

Thus I would appreciate it very much if you would take this matter up with the Un-American Committee, so that we could get some satisfaction and that our records, which were smeared unjustly, could be cleared.

If it is necessary, we are willing to appear either before the Committee, its representatives, or any member of the Department of Justice, because we feel there could be and should be no doubt about our love of democracy and the United States.

Anything you can do in this matter, would be highly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

JOHN DRAHOS,  
*President, Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council,  
811 Crotona Park N., Bronx 60, N. Y.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

According to the New York Times of June 26, 1949, the Report of the House Un-American Activities Committee on the American Slav Congress listed among the organizations "actively associated with the American Slav Congress," an organization named as "The Czechoslovak National Council of America, New York City."

There is no organization listed under this name in New York City. However, there exists in New York City an organization named the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in U. S. A. and in order to set the record straight its Executive Committee declares:

1. The Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in U. S. A. even during the highest wartime collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States of America did not directly or indirectly associate itself and cooperate with the American Slav Congress. It was neither represented in the National Committee nor in the local New York group of the American Slav Congress.

2. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945, the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council went into an inactive status pending the reorganization of its parental organization, the Czechoslovak National Council in USA at Chicago. Again during this period no contact or association of any kind was made or even remotely attempted with the American Slav Congress.

3. After the Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, the decision was made by the participating organizations to reactivate the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in the USA with neither the Communist nor Fascist organization being allowed to become members of the new organization.

The reestablished Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in USA then held a public meeting on March 10, 1949, commemorating the 99th birthday anniversary of Thomas G. Masaryk, the first President of Czechoslovakia. The principal speakers were Hon. John W. Gibson, assistant secretary of Labor, Col. John Bennett, deputy Mayor of New York City, and Dr. Petr Zenkl, chairman of the Council for Free Czechoslovakia, an anti-Communist organization of the Czechoslovak democratic refugees. All speakers, as well as the repre-



sentatives of the Council, denounced communism and Communist policies, both here and abroad. More than 2,000 persons participated. (See New York Times, March 11, 1949.)

4. On May 7th, 1949, the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in the USA, called a convention of democratic American Czechoslovak organizations in the East. Again Communist and Fascist groups were excluded. The convention officially approved the re-activation of the Council, invited all democratic American Czechoslovak organizations in the East to join the Council and participate in its anti-Communist activities. It also declared unanimously its moral support, in accordance with existing U. S. laws, of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, fighting for the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Communist dictatorship. It approved plans for extended help to the democratic Czech and Slovak refugees from Communist terror. The convention passed also a resolution addressed to U. S. President, Harry S. Truman, which read in part:

"At this convention we wish to convey to you our assurances that Americans of Czechoslovak origin are deeply loyal to democratic ideals of the United States of America and sincerely devoted to this, our country. The loss of democracy in Czechoslovakia, the country of our forbears, has brought to us a new realization of the liberties enjoyed in all equality and a deeper sense of obligation to our nation for all Freedoms so justly guaranteed by our Constitution.

"We wish further to thank you for your leadership in the alleviation of suffering throughout the world, and for your firm determination to safeguard world peace as well as your staunch efforts against totalitarian aggression.

"Please accept our assurances that Americans of Czechoslovak origin will always be among the first to rise to the defense of American democracy against any enemy, internal or external."

This resolution was duly noted by the White House, and by the State Department, as confirmed by a special letter of the latter to the Executive Secretary of the Council.

5. Ever since the public announcement of the re-activation of the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council, the organization and its representatives have been a target of violent and slanderous attacks by the American Communist press. Some of its leaders were even attacked by the Czechoslovak Communist radio in its shortwave broadcasts directed to this country. All this is a matter of public record and anyone interested so deeply in the subversive activities in this country as the House Committee should be, could not possibly overlook these facts.

6. The House Committee on Un-American Activities obviously did not even bother to check up on its information, especially its source, because during the investigation of the American Slav Congress activities not one of the Committee's investigators or members cared to approach the representatives of the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in USA to check up the veracity and objectivity of given information.

7. The fact that the same Committee Report (as quoted by the New York Times) lists among the so-called "loyal groups" one organization, named the Slovak League of America, supports the foregoing impressions about the Committee's neglect to check up the reliability in its own material. The Slovak League of America was in this country during the last war a fanatical defender and spokesman of the Nazi Slovak puppet state and ardent proponent of its Fascist ideology. This is also a matter of public record. And the same Slovak League of America is now conducting a violent campaign of hate against the Czechoslovak democratic liberation movement and its leaders, united in the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Thus this so-called "loyal" organization is attempting to create dangerous dissensions and splits among the Americans of Slovak origin, preventing the formation of an effective and united anti-Communist front among all Czechoslovaks abroad. Since the Council of Free Czechoslovakia was sanctioned by the U. S. authorities, this "Slovak League of America" is working against the present American foreign policy and against the best interests of this country. It is no coincidence that among its leaders one will find notorious rabble rousers and demagogues. One of them was even convicted to Sing Sing prison for five years for the land frauds which he helped to organize among the Slovak immigrants under the guise of Slovak chauvinism.

Finally, the fact that among the so-called "loyal" organizations, mostly Catholic groups are listed by the Committee, giving certainly the impression of bias and partiality.

It is to be regretted that the House Committee on Un-American Activities, by such poorly prepared, organized, and documented report is once more defeating its own commendable purpose, and giving aid and comfort to the Communists and their fellow-travelers.

The Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in the USA will continue in its anti-Communist and democratic efforts among the Americans of the Czech and Slovak origin in the East undeterred by the Committee's unfair, unjust and irresponsible accusations of loyal Americans.

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., July 8, 1949.

HON. JOHN S. WOOD,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. WOOD: Enclosed is a copy of the letter I received from the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council, and a copy of their letter to the New York Times.

They are requesting that they be given the opportunity to appear before your committee in order that they may clear their record and show that their being placed on the list of those actively associated with the American Slav Congress, was an error which should be corrected.

Your courtesy in giving this request your favorable consideration, would be appreciated. Please let me know what action you decide to take.

Thanking you for your attention, I am

Sincerely yours,

ISIDORE DOLLINGER, M. C.

JULY 12, 1949.

HONORABLE ISIDORE DOLLINGER,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have received your letter of July 8, 1949, enclosing a complaint from the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council of America alleging that an error was made in listing this organization in our report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations.

The Committee's report, on page 5, simply reprints the statement made during the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting held in Moscow in 1942 that greetings were received from the Czechoslovak National Council of America. The report, on page 5, mentions the fact that the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting were published in pamphlet form in English by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow in 1942.

Page 17 of the Committee report states, under the heading "Second American Slav Congress," that "credentials submitted to the conference showed the following organizations as represented": The name of the Czechoslovak National Council appears as one of the organizations represented. The statement is based on the fact that the published proceedings of the Second American Slav Congress, held at Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh on September 23 and 24, 1944, states that greetings were submitted by the Czechoslovak National Council.

Between pages 24 and 25 of the report, a photograph appears which was taken from the Souvenir Journal, Rally to Win the Peace, Third American Slav Congress, held in New York on September 20, 21, and 22, 1946. It should be noted that the name of Joseph Martinek, Executive Secretary, Czechoslovak National Council, appears in the descriptive data applying to the photograph mentioned.

The statements made in the Committee's report are all based on documents issued by the American Slav Congress or one of its affiliates. It must be realized that there are many organizations among the foreign-language groups which have similar names. In fact, the Communists sometimes adopt such names for the purpose of misleading the public.

In this connection, I should like to draw your attention to the footnote appearing at the bottom of page 17 of the American Slav Congress report which indicates how names of organizations are sometimes confused. The footnote points out that a previous publication of the Committee referred to the Polish-American Labor Council as a Communist organization. However, the name of the subversive organization should have been the American-Polish Labor

Council. It is set forth in the footnote that this error was caused by a mistake in translation.

I am today communicating with the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council to advise the officers of the organization that the Committee will be glad to correct any erroneous impressions which might have been created by its report on the American Slav Congress.

A copy of the Committee's report on the American Slav Congress is transmitted herewith.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. WOOD, *Chairman.*

Enclosure.

JULY 12, 1949.

Mr. JOHN DRAHOS,

*President, Eastern Division, Czechoslovak National Council,  
811 Crotona Park, Bronx 60, New York.*

DEAR MR. DRAHOS: The Honorable Isidore Dollinger has referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities the letter which he received from you and a copy of your letter to the New York Times with respect to the inclusion of the Czechoslovak National Council of America in the Committee's report on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations.

The Committee's report, on page 5, simply reprints the statement made during the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting held in Moscow in 1942 that greetings were received from the Czechoslovak National Council of America. The report, on page 5, mentions the fact that the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting were published in pamphlet form in English by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow in 1942.

Page 17 of the Committee report states, under the heading "Second American Slav Congress," that "credentials submitted to the conference showed the following organizations as represented: 'The name of the Czechoslovak National Council appears as one of the organizations represented.'" The statement is based on the fact that the published proceedings of the Second American Slav Congress, held at Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh on September 23 and 24, 1944, states that greetings were submitted by the Czechoslovak National Council.

Between pages 24 and 25 of the report, a photograph appears which was taken from the Souvenir Journal, Rally to Win the Peace, Third American Slav Congress, held in New York on September 20, 21, and 22, 1946. It should be noted that the name of Joseph Martinek, executive secretary, Czechoslovak National Council, appears in the descriptive data applying to the photograph mentioned.

If the information set forth in the Committee's report does not conform with the facts, the Committee will be glad to receive from you a statement which will be made a part of the Committee's file on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations.

Very truly yours,

JOHN S. WOOD, *Chairman.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., July 21, 1949.

Mr. CHARLES M. PRCHAL,

*President, Czechoslovak National Council of America,  
2345 South Kedzie Avenue, Chicago 23, Illinois.*

DEAR MR. PRCHAL: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 18, 1949, with respect to the inclusion of the Czechoslovak National Council of America in the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations.

The Committee's report, on page 5, simply reprints the statement made during the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting held in Moscow in 1942 that greetings were received from the Czechoslovak National Council of America. The report, on page 5, mentions the fact that the proceedings of the second All-Slavonic meeting were published in pamphlet form in English by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow in 1942.

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on the fact that the published proceedings of the Second American Slav Congress, held at Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh on September 23 and 24, 1944, states that greetings were submitted by the Czechoslovak National Council.

Between pages 24 and 25 of the report, a photograph appears which was taken from the Souvenir Journal, Rally to Win the Peace, Third American Slav Congress, held in New York on September 20, 21, and 22, 1946. It should be noted that the name of Joseph Martinek, executive secretary, Czechoslovak National Council, appears in the descriptive data applying to the photograph mentioned.

The Committee, in its report, recognized that certain persons and organizations formerly connected with the American Slav Congress may have withdrawn without such action having been brought to the attention of the Committee. The Committee on Un-American Activities is happy to learn that the Czechoslovak National Council of America, including its Eastern Division, is no longer affiliated with the American Slav Congress and, in fact, is actually denouncing it and its policy among the Czechoslovak people within the United States.

The material which you enclosed with your letter of July 18 will be made a part of the Committee's file on the American Slav Congress and associated organizations.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. WOOD, *Chairman.*

Telephone Bishop 7-5397

Officers : John A. Cervenka, Honorary President ; Charles M. Prchal, President ; John Voller, Vice President ; Martha Kralik, Vice President ; Ladislav Janik, Secretary ; Frank Zak, Treasurer ; Blanche J. Cihak, Executive Secretary

#### CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

2345 SOUTH KEDZIE AVENUE

Chicago 23, Ill.

JULY 18TH, 1949.

THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: According to your report on the American Slav Congress, as quoted by the New York Times, on June 26, 1949, the "Czechoslovak National Council of America, New York City," was included among organizations "actively associated with the American Slav Congress."

This information is untrue, incorrect, unjust, and misleading.

1. There is no organization listed as the "Czechoslovak National Council of America, New York." The headquarters of our organization is, and has been for decades, located in Chicago, Illinois. Our New York branch is known as the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council of America."

2. The Czechoslovak National Council of America is not and never has been Communistic or sympathetic to Communism. Paragraph 5, Article III of its constitution as adopted in 1942 and ratified unanimously by all subsequent conventions, explicitly states :

"This organization will not be subjected to any foreign control, nor will engage in any military activity or efforts to organize, control, or overthrow the government by the use of force, violence, or military means."

3. The Czechoslovak National Council of America, with headquarters in Chicago, refused to participate in the original Slavic Committees, which were sponsored by the Communists and their sympathizers in the summer of 1941. We joined the American Slav Congress only when, on the motion of our representatives, this organization obtained a letter of clarification from our Department of State. We have been known as an outstanding non-Communist group in the American Slav Congress and our representatives strictly adhered to the advice given by the Department of State in the mentioned letter of clarification.

4. The Czechoslovak National Council of America cooperated with the American Slav Congress during the war, in order to secure and to facilitate a steady and uninterrupted flow of production in the heavy war industries, which were employing about 50 percent of the workers of Slavic origin, and in order to support the war efforts of our government in the struggle against Nazism.

After the war when the American Slav Congress began to follow the changed Communist party line and to support new totalitarianism, the Czechoslovak National Council terminated its relations with the American Slav Congress.



Prof. J. J. Zmrlhal, former president of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, and until the last convention of the American Slav Congress vice president of the A. S. C., ceased to be president of our organization after our convention, held in 1945, and has not been active among us since that time. Even he repudiated the American Slav Congress by a public statement, in 1948, when that organization became active in support of Henry A. Wallace.

5. Since the Communist overthrow of the democratic government of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak National Council of America became the central organization of Americans of Czechoslovak descent, who are opposed to communism and strive to liberate their old country from the new yoke of totalitarianism. Our conventions, held in May and in December 1948, in Chicago, became the rallying points of opposition to communism and all totalitarian policies, upholding the democratic principles and the Constitution of our country, and demanding restitution of democracy in Czechoslovakia. Enclosed please find the copies of our English bulletin the "American Czechoslovak Flashes" stating our policies.

6. The Czechoslovak National Council of America is not only not associated with the American Slav Congress, but is actively opposing its policies in our publications "The American Czechoslovak Flashes," the *Americké Hlasy* (The American Voices) and in the "Press Service of the Czechoslovak National Council of America" and denouncing the support, given by the American Slav Congress to the totalitarian regimes in the Slavic countries. In its turn we were attacked in the publications supporting the American Slav Congress, and our leading members were included by them in the list of "ex-kings and traitors" to the so-called "Peoples Democracy."

7. What we state about our organization applies fully to the Eastern Division of the Czechoslovak National Council in New York.

In view of these easily verified facts, it is evident that your committee obtained its information about our organization from a biased and unfair source which deserves to be checked and investigated as it created harm trying to split the anti-Communist front among the Americans of Czechoslovak origin.

We ask you respectfully to correct the wrong impression of our organization created by your report on the American Slav Congress.

Respectfully yours,

CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA,  
(S) Charles M. Prchal  
CHARLES M. PRCHAL, *Pres.*

(S) Lad. Janik  
LAD. JANIK, *Secretary.*

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[Release No. 1, March 1949]

#### NEWS FLASHES

Published by the Czechoslovak National Council of America, 2345 S. Kedzie Avenue, Chicago 23, Illinois

#### WHY THE NEW AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK FLASHES

There were several reasons for the decision made by the convention of the Czechoslovak National Council of America to renew the publication of the American Czechoslovak Flashes which was suspended in October 1947.

First, it was recognized that since two-thirds of the Americans of Czechoslovak origin are composed now of the native-born citizens (of 1,004,800 persons who have declared Czech or Slovak language as their mother tongue in the census of 1940 only 331,200 were foreign born). There is need for a publication in English, devoted to their interests. This group is more unified than the older groups. Its members have a common American background. To them not Czech or Slovak, but English is the principal means of expression. Among them the differences dividing their fathers in the past and emanating from the Old World background, are reduced to a minimum. This group was fairly represented at the convention of the Council last December, and its representatives expressed the wish to participate more actively in the leadership of the nationality group to which they belong. They believe that the days have passed when mostly the voices of immigrants spoke for Americans of Czechoslovakian origin.

The second reason for renewal of this bulletin is the recent political upheaval in Czechoslovakia. The community of democratic ideologies between Czechoslovakia and the United States of America ceased to exist when the Communists took over the government of Czechoslovak Republic and established their dictatorship. The Czechoslovakian democracy, so intimately related to our own was destroyed in February 1948. Because the vast majority of Americans of Czechoslovak origin remain true to the ideals and principles of democracy and abhor totalitarian regimes everywhere, it is necessary to take a firm stand against totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia and to protect ourselves against the infiltration of its ideology. The Communist regime of Czechoslovakia is trying to gain favor among the Americans of Czechoslovakian descent. This effort is by no means limited to the immigrants. A flood of literature in English as well as in Czech and Slovak is pouring from Prague and Bratislava to our American societies and even into American public libraries under the pretext of exchange of cultural information. Counteracting this propaganda is the duty of all freedom and democracy loving Americans.

It also was the consensus of the opinion at the convention that an intensified effort should be made to spread the knowledge of the history, the languages and the cultural heritage of the Czechoslovakian people who survived the persecution of the Hapsburgs and of Hitler's Nazis, and who will succeed in regaining their independence and will again play an important part in the destinies of Europe and the world. This cultural endeavor must be carried out by our own means as no real help can be expected from Prague and Bratislava. The Communist culture is unacceptable to Americans. The dissemination of cultural information must not become a wedge of propaganda inimical to the principles and ideals of American and Czechoslovakian democracy.

#### SECOND TO NONE IN DEFENSE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY

At the National Convention of Czech and Slovak Societies and Organizations which was held in Chicago on December 4-5, 1948, under the sponsorship of the Czechoslovak National Council of America the following appeal was issued and signed by the native-born delegates:

##### *"To Native-Born Americans of Czechoslovak Parentage:*

"Brothers and Sisters: During the two world conflicts we enjoyed almost complete coincidence of the ideologies as well as community of national interests between the United States of America and Czechoslovakia.

"These democracies, led by our great Presidents Woodrow Wilson and F. D. Roosevelt, and Czechoslovakian presidents Masaryk and Benes heartily cooperated in the struggles against the powers of aggression and in the defense of their liberties.

"This community of ideologies and interests came to an unhappy end when the Communists effected their Coup d'état in Prague in February 1948 and destroyed the Czechoslovakian democracy by brute force.

"The establishment of a totalitarian regime in the country of our ancestors, a regime to which we as true democrats are unalterably opposed, casts its shadow even among our nationality group in the United States of America.

"We deem it, therefore, our duty to proclaim solemnly and strongly that we detest the rule of brute force and that we oppose any attempt to spread the poison of totalitarian ideology among ourselves.

"In order to unify our opposition to dictatorship we call upon all native-born Americans of Czech and Slovak parentage to give full support to efforts of the Czechoslovak National Council of America (Čechoslovenská národní rada v Americe) 2345 S. Kedzie Avenue, Chicago 23, Ill., in its endeavor to maintain true democracy among our people.

"Brothers and Sisters: Of the Americans of Czechoslovakian ancestry fully two-thirds belong to us, native citizens. *It is high time for us to raise our voices in order to protect our voices in order to protect our good name in this country and let the World know that our group remains second to none in defense of true democracy and liberty.*

"Bozena B. Spackova, Betka Kontos, Martha Kralik, Joseph Triner, John F. Brezina, Andrew J. Valusek, Anna Falta, Andrew J. Laska, Edward Rezabek, Joseph E. Peck, James Krakora, Julius Kuchynka, Frank Bardoun, John Golosinec, John J. Lisy, Rose Sterba, Blanche J. Cihak, Vlasta Dvorak-Bezostny."

## ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST CZECH SOCIETY IN AMERICA

A very rare and important anniversary will be celebrated next year by the Americans of Czechoslovakian origin. One hundred years ago, early in January 1850, a Czech society was founded in New York City.

This was the first Czech society organized in the United States of America. The first immigrants from Czechoslovakia had arrived in America at a much earlier date. The first Czech immigrant was Augustin Herman of Maryland fame, who came to New Amsterdam in 1633. During the eighteenth century the Moravian Brethren came and established their settlement in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735. They founded the town of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania in 1741. But this originally Czech church included many of other nationalities beside the handful of Czechs. It was only after a new wave of immigration following the upheavals of 1848 in Europe that the ground work for an organized Czech social life in this country was laid.

According to Thomas Capek this first Czech club, which was organized for benevolent and educational purposes, was known as the Czechoslovakian Society in America. Others claim that the name was The First Czech-Slavonian Society. Its headquarters were located at 14 City Hall Place on the site of the present Municipal Building in New York. It was organized on the initiative of Vojta Naprstek, a Czech patriot and a political refugee who came to this country in December 1848 in order to escape the clutches of the Austrian police who sought to arrest him for participation in the rebellion against the State. He became a librarian of the society, which disbanded in a year or two. The second and more successful organization of this kind was founded later in 1854 in St. Louis, Mo., Bohemian Slavonic Benevolent Society (CSPS). It still exists, under the name of Czechoslovak Society of America (CSA) and is known as the oldest American fraternal union in existence.

The Czechoslovak National Council of America is preparing a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the New York Society and calls upon all Czechoslovakian organizations to take part in this affair so important for Americans of Czechoslovakian origin. The role they have played in the liberation of their old country is comparatively well known. Less known is the part they have played in the development of this country. The coming 100th anniversary of the founding of the first Czechoslovakian society in the United States of America provides an excellent occasion for a review of their history. By coincidence this anniversary falls in with 100th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, the greatest leader of Czechoslovakian democracy and Father of the Czechoslovak Republic. His close relations to this country are well known. His wife Charlotte, so beloved by all Czechoslovakians, was an American lady of the old American stock. T. G. Masaryk issued the Declaration of Independence of Czechoslovakia on the American soil, in Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1918. What an opportunity for all Americans of Czechoslovakian ancestry to honor their American pioneers and by remembering Masaryk's heritage to reaffirm their faith in democracy.

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[Release No. 2, April 1949]

## AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK FLASHES

## CZECHOSLOVAKIAN DEMOCRACY REFUSES TO STAY BURIED

Since the Communist coup d'état which occurred in February last year, over 20,000 Czechoslovakian patriots escaped abroad. All walks of life are represented among them: High officials of the former democratic government and leaders of non-Communist parties, intellectuals and artisans, many trade-unionists, Sokols, students, and some persons deprived of their property, or fearing the loss of personal liberty. Of 186 non-Communist members of the Parliament, 57 fled abroad.

Of the political refugees from the countries behind the Iron Curtain, the Czechoslovaks succeeded soon to form the most unified and all-inclusive political representation abroad, to voice their demand for restitution of liberty of their native land and to promote advancement of the economic and social status of the masses of refugees. It was organized on the first anniversary of the Communist putsch and took place in Washington, D. C., where on October 18, 1918,



Thomas G. Masaryk proclaimed the independence of Czechoslovakia. It is called the Council of Free Czechoslovakia and includes leaders of all political parties represented in the Pre-Communist Parliament and is enlarged by representatives of the pre-war Agrarian party and several outstanding ambassadors and newspapermen. Dr. Petr Zenkl, former vice-premier of Czechoslovakia and Lord Mayor of Prague and president of the National Socialist (Benes) party, was elected chairman; Dr. Jozef Lettrich, former president of the Slovakian Democratic Party and Vaclav Majer, former Minister of Supplies and leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party, were chosen as vice-chairmen. The headquarters of the Council are located in Washington, D. C., with branch offices in London and Paris.

Immediately upon its foundation, the Council of Free Czechoslovakia issued a proclamation to the Czechoslovakian people denouncing the Communist totalitarian regime. In a statement recently published, it welcomes heartily the formation of the Atlantic Pact, and its purpose to secure national independence of free countries, to maintain democratic liberties and to resist aggression. It also expressed the hope that the forces of strengthened democracy will soon bring about restoration of democracy in Czechoslovakia, temporarily crushed but refusing to acknowledge defeat.

#### SPIRIT OF MASARYK CONTINUES IN EXILE

(From the address delivered by Assistant Secretary of Labor, Mr. John W. Gibson, at the commemoration of the 99th birthday of T. G. Masaryk, which was held under the auspices of the Czechoslovak National Council, at the Bohemian National Hall, New York City, March 7, 1949:)

Thomas Masaryk died more than eleven years ago and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was, in the meantime, twice dominated by foreign powers. Once physically by the Nazis and for the second time by international Communism.

These powers were in the past and are now today eager to obliterate the memory of Thomas Masaryk in his homeland. At the present time, his pictures and books are disappearing in Czechoslovakia, though not from the hearts and minds of a large majority of its citizens.

Many of his close friends and followers left Czechoslovakia and some of them recently founded the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Washington. Thomas Masaryk's spirit continues, today in exile over here in the country he loved so much, as his followers seek to throw off the yoke of oppression imposed by a ruthless dictatorship.

It is the sincere hope of all lovers of freedom and democracy, that the time will come soon, when the free citizens of Czechoslovakia will again be able to openly adhere to Thomas Masaryk's ideals which coincide with those the entire world is striving for today.

The great Czechoslovak leader, whom you so deeply love, believed firmly in democracy and freedom. He opposed and fought all dictatorships, Nazi as well as Communist. He taught his people tolerance and respect for their fellow men. His slogan was "Truth will always prevail." Freedom is not only an inherent right of all Americans, it is the fundamental right of all the peoples of the world.

#### COLD WAR AMONG SLAVS

The officers of the American Slav Congress appealed to the members of the Congress and to the President, to end the cold war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. They heartily recommended a meeting between President Harry S. Truman and Joseph Stalin. Unfortunately, the American Slav Congress entirely forgot the cold war raging among Slavs themselves and increasing in intensity. This cold war waged by terrible diplomatic and economic pressure, by Russia and her satellites against Yugoslavia, is entirely appropriate for the American Slav Congress to address its appeal to the Russian Politburo and Mr. Stalin, and to recommend a meeting between Mr. Stalin and Mr. Tito, in order to compose their differences and to set an example how to end a cold war. \* \* \*

#### GREAT LEADER NOT FORGOTTEN

While in Czechoslovakia, now under the Communist regime, March 7, the ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, the late president



and founder of the Czechoslovak Republic, passed almost unnoticed and was hardly mentioned in the press, the Czechoslovakian democrats in free countries of the world remembered the heritage of this great leader of democracy, and drew fresh inspiration from his struggles for freedom. Democratic refugees from Czechoslovakia arranged memorial meetings in every camp for Displaced Persons in the Allied zones in Germany and Austria, as well as in Italy, in London, Paris, and in Scandinavian cities. Numerous public meetings, lectures, concerts, and radio broadcasts were held in the United States, by the Americans of Czechoslovakian origin, and American friends of Czechoslovakian democracy. The most impressive of these celebrations was held on March 7, by the District Committee of the Czechoslovak National Council and the Czechoslovak Legionnaires, at the Bohemian Hall in New York City. It was addressed not only by the national and local leaders of the group; but also by the representatives of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, recently founded in Washington by the political refugees, and by Honorable John W. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of Labor. The mayors of the cities of New York, and Baltimore, and governors of the states of New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa proclaimed March 7th as Masaryk Day, in expression of sympathy of the American people for Czechoslovak democracy and freedom.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR CZECHOSLOVAK PIONEER CENTENNIAL

On May 7th a conference, called by the District Committee of the Czechoslovak National Council of Eastern States, will meet in New York City, for the purpose of laying plans for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of founding of the first Czech society in the United States, and the 100th anniversary of the birth of T. G. Masaryk, the founder of Czechoslovakia. Similar preparations for the Czechoslovakian pioneer centennial, will be made in other communities with a considerable number of the population of Czechoslovakian descent. They wish to honor their pioneers and to proclaim their loyalty to democracy, as well as, their opposition to the totalitarian regime which recently usurped power in the land of their ancestors.

#### MASARYK MEMORIAL STAMPS

To perpetuate the memory and high ideals of Jan Masaryk and his illustrious father, TGM, the Czechoslovak National Council of America issued Masaryk Memorial Stamps. They are sent to all friends of Czechoslovakian democracy who contribute to the cultural fund of the organization. Send your orders to 2345 S. Kedzie Avenue, Chicago 23, Illinois.

#### IT CAN HAPPEN HERE (FLASHES FROM PRAGUE)

##### *Traces of Western influence hard to eradicate*

During the last year, 5,970 new books were published in Czechoslovakia. Of these 4,286 in the Czech and 770 in the Slovakian languages. There were 692 translations from the foreign literatures and 222 books were published in foreign languages. In spite of all efforts to eliminate everything reminding the Czechoslovakian people of the West, the translations from English still were leading. Foreign authors were represented in this order: British, American, French, and Russian.

##### *30,000 Czechoslovakian workers to be sent to Russia*

Arrangements were recently made for sending 30,000 skilled Czechoslovakian workers to the Soviet armament plants in the "safe regions" beyond Ural Mountains. This labor-expeditionary force will not be composed of volunteers.

##### *Women in the building industry*

One of the reforms which is closely copying the Russian model, is extremely unpopular with the Czechoslovakian working population. It is the employment of women as day laborers in the building industry. The workers object strongly to the employment of women in the hardest manual labor and have no sympathy with this strange interpretation of the equal rights for women.

##### *"Cutting down wages rightful and just"*

Since January 1, 1949, a new labor law was adopted in the Communist-ruled Czechoslovakia. The wages and salaries are divided into eight categories mean-

ing very substantial lowering of wages. The introduction of the new law was preceded by an intensive press campaign which denounced "equalitarian tendency in wages." Even "Prace," the main organ of the Communist-dominated trade unions admits that the law is very unpopular, but concluded its article with these words: "As conscious unionists and socialists, we must recognize that this lowering of wages is both appropriate and just."

#### *Black list revived*

The Works Councils in the nationalized Czechoslovakian industry were instructed by the government to refuse employment to anyone who cannot produce a statement from his former employer, that he quit his previous employment with the consent of the employer and is recommended by him.

#### GALLOWS HUMOR BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Practically nobody in Czechoslovakia believes that Jan Masaryk committed suicide. The good people of Prague will tell you with a wink of the eye, that Jan was not only a great statesman but also one of the greatest acrobats of his time because he succeeded in jumping out of the window and yet managed to shut the window behind himself.

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[Release No. 3, May 1949]

#### AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK FLASHES

##### PRESIDENT TRUMAN PRAISED FOR STAND AGAINST TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION

The Hon. HARRY S. TRUMAN,  
*President of the United States of America,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

MR. PRESIDENT: Americans of Czechoslovak origin assembled in convention this seventh day of May 1949 in New York City under the auspices of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, Eastern Division, send greetings.

On this occasion we wish to convey to you our assurances that Americans of Czechoslovak origin are deeply loyal to democratic ideals of the United States of America and are sincerely devoted to this, our country.

The loss of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, the country of our forebears, has brought to us a new appreciation of the liberties enjoyed here in full equality and a deeper sense of obligation to our nation for all freedoms so justly guaranteed by our constitution.

We wish further to thank you for your able leadership in the alleviation of suffering throughout the world and for your firm determination to safeguard world peace as well as your staunch efforts against totalitarian aggression.

Please accept our assurances that Americans of Czechoslovak origin will always be among the first to rise to the defense of American democracy against any enemy, internal or external.

L. V. VYDRA, *Secretary.*

##### CZECHOSLOVAK WORKERS REBUFF FOR COMMUNISM

Elections and plebiscites under the dictators heretofore were a simple matter. The single ticket supported by all the ways and at the disposal of a police state usually assured at least ninety percent approval of Hitler's, Mussolini's, Stalin's or Franco's candidates or policies. It came therefore as a distinct surprise causing many comments and was interpreted as a sure sign of ebbing of the Communists' influence when in recent elections in Eastern Germany 34 percent of the electorate found courage to vote against the single ticket presented by the Communists.

A less commented upon and passed almost unnoticed but equally important sign of the same trend occurred recently in Czechoslovakia.

Last March the long-postponed elections to the Works Council in Czechoslovakian factories were held and resulted in a very unpleasant surprise to the Communist régime.

According to the Communist daily "Rude Pravo" of April 16, 1949, one-third of the eligible voters in Slovakia and fully one-half of the electorate in the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia failed to appear at the polls.

In Bohemia and Moravia, the most industrial regions of the Republic, out of 203,044 eligible voters only 102,830 actually participated in the elections, as admitted by the Prague daily.

This happened in Czechoslovakia, where compulsory voting was successfully practised since the inception of the Republic: where full participation in the elections, under Masaryk and Benes was always exemplary, and where industrial workers always constituted the most active and most disciplined political group, voting in all elections almost to a man. It should also be mentioned that the trade-unions in Czechoslovakia are 100-percent Communist dominated and yet failed to assure success for the elections in the Czech factories.

There is only one explanation for this phenomenon.

The masses of Czech workers refused point-blank to be a party to a political farce and defied the regime by their abstention.

There was only a single ticket presented by the Communist trade-unions. The voting was not by a secret ballot; it was a public affair; the votes were cast in the open, in an atmosphere of intimidation, and in the presence of the factory police the so-called workers Militia.

The refusal of one-half of the eligible voters to participate in the elections to the Works Councils is a sure sign of the dislike of the Communist regime among industrial workers. And the fact that the Communists are losing favor even with the industrial workers, the allegedly privileged group, highly favored by the government is a proof that a huge majority of Czechoslovakian people are opposed to the present regime and detest totalitarianism.

#### NO COMPROMISE WITH TOTALITARIANISM

The efforts of Czechoslovakian Communists to gain favor with the Americans of Czechoslovak origin meets with ever stronger opposition.

Answering the call for action in defense of our democracy, the Czech and Slovak organizations of the Eastern States met in a highly successful convention which was held in New York City, on May 7.

The Convention was presided by Mr. Andrew Valusek, president of the Slovak Sokol Union, and was addressed by Mr. Charles M. Prechal, of Chicago, president of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, and by Dr. Petr Zenkl, of Washington, president of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, recently formed by the democratic refugees. Several members of this organization and a number of local leaders discussed the problems arising out of the present crisis. A telegram was sent to the President of the United States praising him for a firm stand against totalitarian aggression. A ringing call was issued to all Americans of Czechoslovak origin, stressing the opposition to Communism and welcoming the initiative of the Czechoslovak National Council of America in this respect. The convention promised moral support to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in its efforts to restore democracy of that country and urged relief for the democratic refugees from Czechoslovakia.

The native-born generation was well represented at a convention and took a prominent part in its deliberations.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION

##### *20 percent of college students expelled from schools*

Czechoslovakia had, in 1947, 18 schools of university grade with 55,000 students. Since the Communists usurped power last year, more than 11,000 students have been expelled from schools and compelled to give up further studies.

##### *Strange redefinition of democracy*

Speaking at the convention of the Czechoslovakian writers on March 7th, in Prague, Dr. Vaclav Kopecky, the Minister of Information, thus defined the substance and aspects of the so-called People's Democracy now ruling Czechoslovakia:

"It is clear to us even, that on the road to socialism, the People's Democracy may fulfill the function of a dictatorship of the Proletariat, thus becoming one of its characteristic forms."

*Hard to serve new masters*

Since February 1948, 70 percent of Czechoslovakian Ambassadors, Ministers and Consuls, have either resigned or been recalled to Prague. The Communists divided all employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs into three categories: 1. Reliable for service abroad, 2. Reliable for service in Prague, 3. Unreliable.

*"Order of February 24"*

By a decree of the government of Czechoslovakia, a new "Order of the 24th of February" was recently Established. It will be awarded to individuals for deeds that made the Communist Coup d'état possible. The Czechoslovakian patriots welcome the official list of these undisputed traitors for whom it will be hard indeed to find excuses when the day of retribution will arrive.

*Popular car at unpopular price*

The Communist Ministry of Internal Commerce announced that the four sets of Skoda-Popular automobile, will sell at the "Free market" for the price of 450,000 korunas (50 korunas equal 1 dollar). The average monthly wages of Czechoslovakian workers is 3,000 korunas.

*Thought police in action*

Several Czech priests were accused of delivering sermons containing "hidden pronouncements against the People's Democratic regime."

## HUMOR BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

*The Atlantic Pact Discussed aboard a Streetcar*

The conductors in the streetcars in Prague are still collecting the fare by passing among the passengers and selling them tickets. It happened that on the morning of the day when the radio announced the decision of Norway to join the Atlantic Pact one conductor called in a pitched voice as soon as the car left the stop "Tickets! Tickets! Who came in?" As if answering a question concerning the Atlantic Pact, uppermost in the minds of all of that time, a voice in the rear gravely informed him in a true Shweik style: Norway!

All passengers laughed, that is, all with the exception of two Communists who called in the policeman at the next stop in order to apprehend the "political provocator" who had publicly manifested his sympathy with the abominable Western imperialism. \* \* \*

## FOURTH EDITION OF PROGRESSIVE CZECH AVAILABLE

The fourth edition of Progressive Czech by Bohumil Mikula is now available. This textbook of the Czech language by an American scholar, was published by the Czechoslovak National Council of America, and is being used in American Universities, colleges, and public and denominational high schools. It contains grammar, reading matter, and a Czech-English as well as English-Czech dictionary; 578 pages, price \$3.62 pp. Send your orders to the Czechoslovak National Council of America, 2345 S. Kedzie Avenue, Chicago 23, Ill.

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[Release No. 4, June 1949]

## AMERICAN CZECHOSLOVAK FLASHES

## IF FREE ELECTIONS IN GREECE WHY NOT ALSO IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

The recent offer of the Greek guerrilla leaders, for liquidation of the Civil War in Greece on the basis of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations and the subsequent approval of this offer by the Soviet Union opens the way for similar settlement of internal troubles elsewhere.

If free elections under international control in Greece why not free elections in Czechoslovakia? If such elections can be used to liquidate a civil war, why not use them to prevent a civil war?

The people of Czechoslovakia are clamoring such elections. They expressed their will recently by means of a mass letter-writing campaign. The American



Embassy in Prague received no less than 30,000 letters demanding such elections, in spite of all obstacles put in the way by the police state.

Heretofore the Communists objected to international supervision of such elections and branded it as unpermissible intervention in the internal affairs of the countries behind the "Iron Curtain." After its approval in the Greek case there can be no valid objection to it in the Czechoslovakian case.

The Western Allies similarly have advocated free elections under the supervision of the United Nations and extension of civil liberties to the people of Eastern Germany—and rightly so. But what about Czechoslovakia? Certainly the people of Czechoslovakia, our true and tried Ally in two world wars, deserve some consideration and the same measure of rights and liberties as the people of the nation with which we still are technically at war. We must not forget furthermore, that Czechoslovakia was included in the Eastern zone by a deal among the Big Powers—without being consulted—and that our country, the United States of America, was a partner to this deal. Thus we have a certain responsibility for the fate of Czechoslovakian democracy, a responsibility which we cannot avoid.

The Czechoslovak National Council of America requested the United States delegation at the conference of Four Powers in Paris, to impress the conference with the necessity of giving the Czechoslovakian people a chance to decide their fate by free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. This demand should be fully supported by all fair-minded citizens interested in a peaceful settlement of the troubles behind the Iron Curtain.

#### STATE-CONTROLLED CHURCH COMMUNIST GOAL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Communist assault upon Archbishop Beran and the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is reaching its climax. At the time our readers will read these lines, the Archbishop probably will have been arrested.

What is the real goal of the Communist regime in the church crisis they are precipitating?

Not the destruction of the church or separation of the church from the state. The Communists have learned by bitter experience, that they cannot hope to eradicate religion and suppress the church at one single sweep. They have not succeeded in this in the Soviet Union after 30 years of their absolute rule. They know quite well they cannot achieve this goal in Central Europe nor in the Balkans. For this reason they have set for themselves as a less pretentious goal, not the separation of church from the state but, on the contrary, the establishment of *state-controlled churches*, run by the Communist indoctrinated Action-Committees in the same way as they run all non-Communist organizations which are still permitted to exist.

In Czechoslovakia they have already succeeded in making two churches fully subservient to their rule, namely, the small Orthodox church which was placed in addition under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in Moscow, and the National Czechoslovak Church, which broke away from the Rome after the first World War. The Roman Catholic Church under the leadership of the able and extremely popular Archbishop Beran has refused so far to listen to cajoling and threats and is now a subject of severe persecution. It is natural to assume that a similar fate will soon befall the Protestant churches.

The Communists tried first to gain favor with the Catholic Church by peaceful means and by cajoling. When President Gottwald was elected to the office made vacant by President Benes, he—an avowed atheist—attended the Mass, served by Archbishop Beran in the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. Yet in the same cathedral, on June 20, Archbishop Beran was silenced by jeers of Communist provocateurs planted among the faithful. \* \* \*

#### PREPARE FOR THE U. S. CENSUS

Next year a general census will be taken in the United States.

It will include the enumeration of members of different nationalities and races, a very important problem in a country where so many different races live side by side.

It is highly desirable that the census taking be as accurate as humanly possible.

An accurate census may help us to straighten up many mooted questions. When for instance a claim is made during a political campaign—as it actually was made in the last presidential election—that a certain nationality commands six million votes and will turn them a certain way, it will be readily recognized as a

gross exaggeration when confronted with the census figures according to which barely two and one-half millions of people of the first, second, and third generations, children included, were enumerated in this group.

The census of the United States is the most reliable source of information about many pertinent ingredients in our melting pot.

This does not, however, mean that there is no room for its improvement.

In the 1940 Census many persons of Czech origin were listed as Germans simply because at that time Czechoslovakia was—temporarily—a part of Hitler's Greater Germany. This was done in spite of the correct instructions given to the census takers. In many instances these instructions were not followed. In many instances the Czechoslovak National Council of America had to call the attention of the authorities to a violation of these instructions.

There is a danger that the Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia last year and the anti-American policies of the present Communist government of Czechoslovakia may lead to similar misunderstandings. We all can help by convincing our fellow citizens that they should answer the questionnaire correctly and make sure that the census takers accurately follow given instructions.

#### THE SLOVAK NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF AMERICA REORGANIZED

The Slovak National Alliance of America held its national conference at New York, on June 1949. It was attended by delegates from New York, New Jersey, the New England States, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. The conference unanimously decided to continue its affiliation with the Czechoslovak National Council of America, in Chicago; to give moral support to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Washington in its efforts to free Czechoslovakia from the yoke of totalitarianism; and to extend aid to the democratic refugees from the Communist dominated Czechoslovakia by supporting the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees.

The Slovak National Alliance was formed in 1939 and has become one of the component parts of the Czechoslovak National Council of America. Contrary to the older organization, The Slovak League, which supported the Nazi puppet government in Slovakia, the Alliance worked steadfastly for the restitution of democratic Czechoslovak Republic.

The present officers of the Alliance are: Andrew Valusek, of New York, president; John Golosinec, of Chicago, and Anna Nochto, of New York, vice presidents; John Drahos, of New York, secretary. The headquarters of the Alliance will remain in New York City.

#### A MONUMENT TO T. G. MASARYK TO BE ERRECTED IN CHICAGO

The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk, to be held in 1950, will actually begin this fall. A monument honoring the great leader of Czechoslovakia and world democracy will be erected at the entrance of the University of Chicago. (In his professorial days Masaryk was a member of the staff of this university.) The statue, the work of the noted Czechoslovak-American sculptor, Albin Polasek, formerly of the Chicago Art Institute, will be dedicated on or around October 28, the Czechoslovak Independence Day. The date was chosen purposely as that holiday was replaced by the new Communist regime in Czechoslovakia with November 7, the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The Chicago event is, therefore, planned as a mighty demonstration against the totalitarian regime in Prague which trampled down the ideals of the great founder of the Czechoslovakian democracy.

The Masaryk Memorial Committee, which is sponsoring this celebration, was organized by the late John Toman, their county treasurer of Cook County, Illinois, before the Second World War. The war interrupted the work of this committee. The necessary funds were badly needed for the movement to liberate Masaryk's country from the Nazis and later on, immediately after the war, there was even more pressing need for the alleviation of the suffering caused by the ravages of war and by the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The Masaryk Memorial Committee is headed by Mr. John A. Cervenka, former city purchasing agent in Chicago. Mr. Charles M. Pichal is secretary of the Committee.

## SAD NEWS FROM THE OLD COUNTRY

## ECONOMIC WAR BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

The Czechoslovak government ordered in June a ban on all Czechoslovakian exports to Yugoslavia. It was pushed into an economic war with this Slavic country by Moscow, which is trying to organize an economic blockade of Yugoslavia. Thus Czechoslovakia is being deprived of one of the best outlets for its goods and at the same time is being cut off from a very important source of raw material for its industries. This is the second time that Russia caused irreparable economic loss to Czechoslovakia for reasons of her own. In 1947 Stalin forced Czechoslovakia to withdraw from the Marshall plan although even the Communist ministers in Benes' cabinet originally voted for it.

## HANGMEN ARE BUSY

The new regime of Czechoslovakia is tightening the screws ever more. Secret tribunals are pronouncing sentences of death and executions of patriots daily. Death sentences were pronounced in the trials of the Liska and Choc groups. The most glaring example of the Communist "justice" is the recent execution of Gen. Heliodor Pika. One of his "crimes" was—as quoted by the Daily Worker—that he established connection with the British Intelligence Service in Britain in—1940. At that time Moscow had a pact with Hitler and Mr. Molotov was dining lavishly with Von Ribbentrop.

## DYING IN PRISONS

To be sentenced to jail is no insurance against death by torture in Communist-dominated Czechoslovakia. The latest victims are General Janousek and Colonel Lukas, who died very soon after their incarceration. Both served with the British Air Force during the war. Both were eliminated and liquidated as "Westerners."

## SUICIDES ON INCREASE

The number of suicides for political reasons are increasing in a horrible way. The most significant case recently discovered is that of Prof. Antonin Vosicka, well known in this country, who obtained his doctor's degree at the Northwestern University in Chicago. Vosicka, a lecturer of English at the Charles University in Prague, was made despondent by the Communist interference in his teaching and by suppression of three of his books by the Ministry of Information. The new constitution of Czechoslovakia provides "guarantee" of freedom of scientific research, but apparently that is pure window dressing.

## PRISONS OVERFLOWING

When President Gottwald was installed last year an amnesty was declared. The purpose of it evidently was to make room for new prisoners. Today there are between 60,000–75,000 patriots in the jails. The number of those who were sent to the Forced Labor Camps runs into hundreds of thousands.

## MASARYK'S WORDS CAME TRUE

Two months before he died, Jan Masaryk warned his fellow countrymen in a speech delivered at Brno University that a disruption of relations with the West would result in drastic lowering of standard of life in Czechoslovakia. His words came true. Even the Communist daily "Rude Pravo" admits that the average wages have fallen from 3,000 Kcs. to 2,500 Kcs. At the same time a suit of clothes costs from 10,000 Kcs. to 20,000 Kcs. (\$200–\$300).

830 South Fifth Street. Established 1913. Phone Mitchell 5-4373

OBZOR PUBLISHING COMPANY

Publishers of the

"OBZOR"—(*The American-Yugoslav Observer*)

A Weekly News Publication for Americans of Yugoslav Descent in Wisconsin

FRANK R. STAUT, editor and publisher

Presenting also the AMERICAN-YUGOSLAV (SLOVENIAN) RADIO HOUR OVER WEXT  
RADIO STATION

MILWAUKEE 4, WIS., June 29, 1949.

Hon. JOHN S. WOOD,

*Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities,*

*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In New York Times of June 26, 1949, on page 1, section 1, and on page 34, column 3, I read the latest official report of your Committee on Un-American Activities of the American Slav Congress, and to my great astonishment found the name of my paper, the "Yugoslovenski Obzor, Milwaukee," listed among the "organizations actively associated with the American Slav Congress."

I don't know how did it happen that our paper was included among these organizations, while, by right, it should be listed among the loyal ones, but I presume that your Committee, by all probability, found the name of my paper on the official mailing list of the American Slav Congress, which, during the war years and after, bombarded every Slavic-language newspaper in this country, including ours, with its communistic propaganda and literature. This propaganda stuff kept coming to my desk from the American Slav Congress despite my frequent demands that they strike the name of our paper off their mailing list. Only a few months ago they finally stopped sending me their traitorous literature, which—needless to say—promptly wandered into the wastebasket anyhow as soon as it arrived.

Or, maybe, your Committee found the name of our paper—or rather my name, as its editor and publisher—among the organizers of Local Milwaukee branch of American Slav Congress (at that time, and still called the American Slav Council of Milwaukee County) back in 1942, when its goals and purposes were purely patriotic and the Communists did not have any control of it, and from which I and the rest of anticommunistic organizers one year later, when the Communists in their usual trickery way got control of the majority votes at the executive meetings, promptly withdrew.

I am enclosing 2 sets of original clippings from local newspapers about my activities during the war years and after. I beg you, Mr. Chairman, to return these clippings to me after you take notice of them, as they are the only ones I have and would like to preserve them in my files for eventual future references.

I may also add that for these activities and for my strongly anticommunistic stand and editorial policy of my paper during the dangerous period of appeasement of Russia and its satellites, and of my lone fighting against communistic propaganda among my people, I was often threatened with death and destruction of my printing plant and property by local Communists—which facts are well known to the local FBI office (at least they were promptly reported by me to its agents). You will, Mr. Chairman, therefore understand that I was the more surprised to find the name of my paper listed among the suspected organizations.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that your Committee will find some way of correcting this injustice to me and my paper.

Respectfully yours,

FRANK R. STAUT,  
*Editor and Publisher of "Yugoslovenski Obzor."*

Enclosure: 2 sets of newspaper clippings, kindly to be returned.



[Milwaukee Journal, April 26, 1949]

## SLAV CONGRESS FORCES BROKEN BY SPLIT IN 1943

GROUP HERE REDUCED TO SMALL NUMBER WHEN FOES OF COMMUNISM WALKED OUT

The American Slav Congress, which is being investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist "front" organization, is only a skeleton of its former self here.

It remains the central governing body of a dozen or so left-wing nationality organizations among Milwaukeeans of Slavic descent. Its present over-all membership here is only a few thousands.

Six years ago the American Slav Congress was a major organization in the city's life. It had about 90 affiliated societies among the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Russians, and Ukrainians. It represented nearly 75,000 persons.

But a majority of the Milwaukee members of the congress long ago recognized it as a Communist "front" organization and withdrew. The testimony that is being offered in Washington, D. C., now to prove the organization's Communist connections is nothing new to these Milwaukeeans.

*Krzycki Is President*

The national president of the congress for a number of years has been Leo Krzycki, 3360 S. 37th St. He attended the Communist-dominated world peace meeting in Paris last week as a delegate of the congress and is now on his way to Poland.

In recent years officers of the local group have consistently been "Russia firsters." Paul Babich, an important figure in the Communist Party in Wisconsin, has been the treasurer for years. Other congress leaders, all outspokenly pro-Soviet, have been Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand, the Communist Party's principal "front" organizer in the state; Mrs. Bozina Klabouch; Edmund V. Bobrowicz, Democratic nominee for congress in 1946 who was repudiated by the Democratic Party as a Communist, and Louis Majtan and John Hlushko.

*IWO Now Is Backbone*

Since 1943, when about 75 of 90 affiliated societies withdrew from the congress, the backbone of the organization has been in the International Workers' order chapters in the various nationality groups. The order is the fraternal insurance society of the Communist Party.

The local chapters include the Solidarity club, a Polish IWO affiliate, the Ukrainian-American lodge No. 1534 and Croat, Czech, Serb, and Slovak affiliates.

A few of the Serb and Croat members who remained with the congress after the big split in 1943 recently have severed their connections. They were pro-Tito, and the Yugoslav dictator's differences with Russia left them puzzled.

The last public meeting of the congress was in March at the South Side Armory, 1620 S. 6th St. At that time, the congress, with the Wisconsin Civil Rights congress, another Communist "front" organization, sponsored by the appearance here of Mrs. Katherine Hyndman, of Gary, Ind. Mrs. Hyndman has been arrested for deportation for her Communist activities. She is now free on bail.

*Meet at Harmony Hall*

Regular meetings of the congress are held at Harmony Hall, 939 S. 6th street.

Frank E. Gregorski, a former assistant district attorney, was the president of the local American Slav congress before the 1943 break-up. He led 67 Polish organizations, which were also members of the Pulaski council, out of the congress.

"We intended to oust the Communists and reorganize the central body for ourselves, but they got the jump on us," Gregorski said. "They went to Madison and incorporated, and then we were denied the right to use the name."

Gregorski explained that the split came as a result of a national convention of the congress in Detroit in 1943. The national body went on record approving Russian absorption of Poland and the Baltic states and Tito's ascendancy in Yugoslavia.

The rupture here came soon after the Detroit meeting. At a local meeting a large map was placed on a wall. It showed a post-World War II Soviet Europe. A resolution condemning the Milwaukee chapter of the Council of American-Soviet Friendship for displaying the map was passed at the meeting.

*Forming a "New World"*

Mrs. Nordstrand, who was a "labor" delegate to the congress, told Gregorski and his group that they "shouldn't be excited about such things as maps and boundaries."

Babich told the Polish delegates that "a new world is being formed, and we won't care about you."

The IWO groups, Babich's Serbian Democratic club and the left wing American-Polish labor council quickly passed resolutions condemning the withdrawal of the Polish delegates who sided with Gregorski.

Since that break-up, although the congress has held meetings here regularly, it has come to public attention on only a few occasions.

Once was when Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark listed the congress and many of its remaining affiliates as "subversive" and as Communist "front" groups.

And now it is the congressional investigation in Washington that promises to spotlight the organization's activities.

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[The Milwaukee Journal, July 4, 1948]

## CITY YUGOSLAVS EYE HOMELAND

MOST ARE OPPOSED TO TITO AND TO COMMUNISM, EDITOR SAYS

Milwaukee's 40,000 persons of Yugoslav descent are watching with interest and anxiety the events in their homeland.

What is behind the condemnation of Communist Tito by international communism? And what will this mean to their Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian relatives abroad? These are the questions that Milwaukee Yugoslavs are asking.

Most Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs living in America have been unalterably opposed to Tito and his Communist regime from the beginning, according to Frank R. Staut, editor of the Slovenian newspaper *Obzor*.

"The Slovenes are a democratic people and we are opposed to any form of dictatorship and to communism," Staut said. "A Tito-run Communist dictatorship is no better than a Moscow-run dictatorship."

*Religion Is a Factor*

The Slovenes comprise about 20,000 of Milwaukee's Yugoslav population, the Croats about 15,000, and the Serbs about 5,000, Staut said.

The majority of these were born in Europe or are first generation Americans and it is for that reason that their ties to their native land are especially strong. The Croats and the Slovenes are largely Roman Catholic. The Serbians belong to the Serbian Orthodox church. It is partially because of their deep religious convictions that their opposition to Tito developed, Staut said.

Father Blase Jerkovic, of St. Augustine's Catholic Church, was outspoken on that point.

"Tito is against all religion and the Yugoslav people will never support him," he said.

*Denies Tito is a Croat*

Although biographies list Tito as a Croat whose real name is Josip Broz, Father Jerkovic strongly denied that Tito is a Croat.

"I have parishioners from the area where he is said to have been born and they never heard of his family there," Father Jerkovic said. He charged that Tito is an oppressor of all Yugoslav people but especially of the religious Croats. He said the great majority of all Americans of Yugoslav descent would never be satisfied until Tito and all Communists are removed from control.

An opposite view of the esteem in which Yugoslav Americans hold Tito was expressed by Nick Hinich, president of the left-wing American Croatian council.

"There are only a few loud-mouthed individuals in this country who condemn him," Hinich said. "Most of the Yugoslavs here and in Europe have been strongly in favor of Tito from the beginning."

*"Not Forming Opinion"*

But Hinich hedged somewhat when asked whether the high regard in which he said Tito was held was likely to be changed by the Cominform's attack on the Yugoslav leader.

"Our people are not forming any final opinion yet," he declared. "All we have are the newspaper stories and they may be twisted. I don't think the break is as serious as the newspapers state."

Hinich doubted that there would be any reorientation of Yugoslavia toward the United States, Britain, and other western nations unless "the west gives up its policies of ownership of resources and exploitation of the people."

Phillip Paulin, president of the Croatian Central committee, said that his organization represented 95 percent of the Croats in Milwaukee and that Hinich's group represented "only a handful of pro-Communists."

### *Slaying Held Possible*

"Tito and his Communist government are maintained by force and fear," Paulin said. "Your Americans of Croatian descent don't like communism in any form."

Although it is too early for conjecture as to what will happen as a result of the Belgrade-Moscow break, Paulin said it was possible that Tito would be slain as were Leon Trotsky and other Stalin opponents.

"But the situation then is not likely to be any better, and it may be worse," he added. "Communist control seems to be too strong to be overthrown immediately."

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[Milwaukee Journal, September 4, 1946]

FROM YUGOSLAV EDITOR

To the JOURNAL:

The lessons in your editorial "Our Defenders of Tito" in reply to a statement of "25 or more directors" of the American Slav Council of Milwaukee County and the central committee of South Slavic Americans, which appeared in your news columns under the heading "Slavs Here Rap Yugoslavia Issue," certainly should be helpful in opening the eyes of a considerable number of Milwaukee Slavs, especially Yugoslavs, who had been—to quote your words—"misled by old world nationalistic feelings or else duped by the American agents of Russian communism." But I offer a little clarification, especially in regard to the unfounded claim of these "25 directors" that they represent 51 Slavic member organizations, apparently meaning the organizations in Milwaukee area.

As publisher of the local Yugoslav newspaper, I am in position to state that this is not true or else the 25 directors should publish the names of these 51 organizations. As far as I know, these "directors" in fact have a few individual followers, who may belong to some of these 51 organizations as individual members, using them as their tools and agitators in collecting donations for "war relief to Yugoslav people." But none of these organizations (at least none of the 38 Slovenian organizations in this area) to my knowledge ever officially endorsed or approved the frequent anti-American and pro-Tito statements, which these 25 directors have issued in your or the other American papers, thus making the impression that ALL Yugoslavs here are 100% behind them and against the American interests or the form of American government.

Yes, blame for misleading the Slavs here must be placed on your shoulders, because of some of your willingness to publish any "statement" and any propaganda for Tito or Russian communism these Slav directors are sending to your desks, thus planting in the mind of the average Slav reader the thought that, after all, Tito or Russian communism cannot be so bad when even the American papers are printing such favorable statements and stories for both. On the other hand, the general American public gets the impression that all the Slavs are—in secret—Communists and ready to turn against this country any moment they get their orders from Moscow.

I can assure you that the great majority of Yugoslavs here really are loyal Americans, concerned entirely with the interests of their adopted land. And they are thankful to you for saying so and bringing this out. The great majority do not try—whether in their hearts or openly—to whitewash Tito or his present regime in Yugoslavia for shooting down American fliers. On the contrary, they are condemning this foolish (if it were not so tragic) act of his soldiers. They just feel the more sorry for the innocent and unfortunate Yugoslav people abroad, who have suffered so much during the war, have hoped all these years that they would be really liberated by Anglo-Americans and benefited by western democracy after their liberation, but instead have fallen under another slavery and dictatorship, which threatens to drag them into another war.

We know our people in the old country and we know that they don't want to have Russian communism imposed on them any more than the Americans would want it. And they are therefore unhappy to think that some day they might be forced to fight against us.

If people of Yugoslavia are throwing up their caps and shouting for Tito today, as you said in another editorial, "Getting Kicked," they are not doing that because they are ungrateful to the United States for UNRRA goods they are receiving, but because they have to do that or else they won't get them.

It's still the same old story in Europe: Before, there were kings and kaisers. The people formerly had to shout for them. Now for the marshals.

FRANK R. STAUT,  
*Editor and Publisher, the Obzor (The Yugoslav Observer),*  
820 S. 5th Street, Milwaukee.

[Milwaukee Journal, Sept. 24, 1946]

#### SLOVENIANS ORGANIZE TO BLOCK COMMUNISTS

About 30 representatives of Slovenian groups in the city, principally those affiliated with the Slovenian Catholic union, Monday night organized an association which they said hoped to combat any attempt by Communists to infiltrate into their organizations. They adopted the name of American Slav Alliance for Upholding American Democracy, Slovenian branch. The meeting was held at St. John the Evangelist Catholic church hall, S. 9th and W. Mineral Sts.

"We hope that other nationality groups will form similar organizations," said Frank R. Staut.

Frank Lipoglavsek, 3601 W. Burnham St., was elected temporary chairman; Frank Slatinshek, 815 S. 5th St., vice chairman; Joseph Luzar, Jr., 1010 S. 9th St., treasurer, and Miss Agnes Jenich, 1231 W. Mineral St., recording secretary. The group's next meeting will be held Oct. 28.

[Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept. 25, 1946]

#### SLOVENES HERE TO FIGHT COMMUNISM

A group of Milwaukee Slovenes has organized to block Communism, it was announced yesterday by Frank R. Staut, editor and publisher of a Slovenian language newspaper. The name American Slav Alliance For Upholding American Democracy-Slovenian Branch, was adopted. These officers were elected: Frank Lipoglavsek, president; Frank Slatinshek, vice president; Joseph Luzar, Jr., treasurer, and Miss Agnes Jenich, secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D. C., July 6, 1949.

MR. FRANK R. STAUT,  
*Editor and Publisher, Obzor,*  
830 South Fifth Street, Milwaukee 4, Wis.

DEAR MR. STAUT: Reference is made to your letter of June 29 with respect to the inclusion by the Committee on Un-American Activities of both you and your paper, *Obzor*, on the list of persons or organizations actively associated with the American Slav Congress.

The Committee, in preparing its report on the American Slav Congress, well realized that certain persons and organizations had withdrawn from association with the American Slav Congress. Certain of these were given credit in the publication and in a footnote the Committee stated: "It is possible that there are other such cases which have not been brought to the attention of the committee." The information received by the Committee since the publication of its report conclusively shows that you and your publication for some years have been actively combatting the Communist movement, especially the infiltration of Communists into foreign nationality groups within the Wisconsin area.

I extend to you the congratulations of the Committee for the fine job you and your publication are doing to bring a true light of the Communist conspiracy to the attention of your people.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. WOOD, *Chairman.*



## POLISH-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

POLSKO-AMERYKANSKA RADA PRACY

Telephone Walnut 1-8192

2063 E. GRAND BLVD., DETROIT 11, MICH.

Officers: Fr. Ostrowski, president; A. Arciszewski, vice president; J. K. Wieczorek, vice president; Jan Groom, vice president; Anthony Wojsowski, general secretary; Bol. Tomaszewski, treasurer; J. D. Włodarczyk, organizer. Directors: Anthony Krawulski, Leon Rusinowicz, Jan Artykiewicz, Ign. Piekarniak

MAY 10, 1949.

The Honorable JOHN S. WOOD,

*Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities,  
U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: General Modelski, testifying before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 11, 1949, referred to a document which was introduced in the minutes as Exhibit I. The English translation of this document contains an error namely, it refers to a Polish American Labor Council, while in the original Polish document the name of the organization mentioned, is American Polish Labor Council.

Our organization, the Polish American Labor Council is and always was very strongly opposed to communism. Our aim is to enlighten the workers of Polish descent about the danger of communism.

The communists organized the American Polish Labor Council to counteract the activities of our organization and to confuse the public. Mr. Leon Krzycki, the president of the communist dominated American Polish Labor Council, is not and never was in any way connected with our organization, the Polish American Labor Council.

Since the testimony of General Modelski was widely publicized and in that connection the name of our organization was mentioned as being subversive, we would be very grateful for a correction of the translation of Exhibit I and an appropriate statement with regard to that matter.

Very truly yours,

FRANK OSTROWSKI, *President.*ANTHONY WOJSOWSKI, *Gen. Sec.*

NOTE.—The following footnote, included in the Report on the American Slav Congress, p. 17, with reference to the above organization; is for the clarification of the record:

"In a publication of the committee, containing the testimony of Gen. Izyador Modelski, former Military Attaché of the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C., reference was made to the Polish-American Labor Council as being a suitable contact for employees of the Polish Embassy. The organization to which this publication intended to refer was the American-Polish Labor Council and not the Polish-American Labor Council, the Polish-American Labor Council being a thoroughly loyal and patriotic organization. This mistake was the result of an error made by the translator of certain documents turned over to the Committee by General Modelski. The organization referred to above (i. e., in the Report on the American Slav Congress) as the American-Polish Labor Council is mentioned in this report upon numerous occasions. This organization, it is hoped, will not become confused with the loyal organization identified in this statement as the Polish-American Labor Council."

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE,  
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
*Chapel Hill, December 3, 1949.*

The Honorable JOHN S. WOOD,

*Chairman, Un-American Affairs Committee,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOOD: I have been informed that the Un-American Affairs Committee, in its report concerning the Culture and Scientific Conference for World Peace, which was held in New York last March 25-27, has stated that I was a sponsor of the conference, and appeared on the program. Simply in order to keep the record straight, I should like to state the facts so that there will be no misunderstanding.

I was never a sponsor of the conference, and I publicly withdrew from the program on March 22, stating my reasons quite emphatically. The fact that I had refused to appear on the program was reported in a front-page story in the New York Times in its edition of March 25, 1949, and also in a first-page story in Newsweek, page 19, in its edition of April 4, 1949. Also, my letter of withdrawal was printed in full by the Durham Morning Herald, Durham, N. C., under date of March 27, 1949, and a copy of the same letter was addressed to the Secretary of State and may be found in the State Department file. In this letter stating why I could not associate myself with the program I made the following comment which, I believe, makes my position clear.

"As regards my own position, I am on the whole a supporter of the policy of the State Department in the postwar period. In my opinion, our international policy has been much more conducive to world peace and to the settlement of outstanding points at issue than have been the policy and actions of the Soviet Union. Although I feel that the objectives and the technique of the United States in foreign affairs can be at times improved, my opinions are such that I cannot associate myself with any wholesale criticism of the State Department or with any propagandistic attempt to apologize for the actions of the Soviet Union in current international affairs. Furthermore, I am so firmly wedded to the democratic procedure for arriving at decisions on scientific evidence, that I will not have any part in resolutions or other decisions of a conference where this procedure is not guaranteed.

"Because of my sincere interest in world peace and because I accepted the invitation of the conference in good faith, I have prepared a paper arguing for the scientific attitude and the increased use of science in international affairs, which I am attaching to this letter. However, for the reasons outlined above, I have grave doubts that, despite the best efforts of yourself, an atmosphere of scholarly and scientific deliberation will prevail at the conference.

"Rather than engage in a travesty of a scientific meeting, I hereby resign from the conference."

I had accepted an invitation to appear on the program of what I understood to be a conference on world peace which was to involve a scholarly and scientific analysis of various possibilities. The invitation had been extended to me by Professor Harlow Shapley, of Harvard, as one scientist to another. As soon as I became aware of what the real purposes of the conference were, I withdrew, but by this time my name had already been printed on the program. Since I emphatically do not approve of the manner in which the conference was set up or handled, I naturally do not wish my position to be misunderstood by the Un-American Affairs Committee, or anyone else.

Thanking you for your consideration, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN GILLIN, *Professor of Anthropology.*

NOTE.—Dr. Gillin's resignation from the "Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace" was announced in the prints as follows:

[New York Times, Friday, March 25, 1949]

#### POLICE LIFT ALL RESTRICTIONS ON CULTURAL MEETING PICKETS

Those withdrawing as sponsors were Franklin P. Adams, writer; Lisa Sergio, lecturer and radio commentator; and John Gillin, professor of anthropology at the University of North Carolina; in addition to Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who announced his withdrawal on Wednesday.

[Newsweek Magazine, April 4, 1949]

#### PEACE: EVERYBODY WAWS OVER IT

The first result: Several non-Communists, who had agreed to sponsor the Conference for World Peace in belief that it would be what it proclaimed, awoke to a sudden realization of its true nature, and quit. Among them were Canada Lee, the Negro actor; Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan, of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Lisa Sergio, the radio commentator; Prof. John Gillin, of the University of North Carolina; and Franklin (Information, Please) P. Adams.

[Durham (N. C.) Morning Herald, Sunday, March 27, 1949]

This newspaper printed in full Dr. Gillin's letter of resignation addressed to Dr. Harlow Shapley, dated March 22, 1949, before the beginning of the conference.

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#### REVIEW OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CONFERENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

A check of the records of the Committee on Un-American Activities discloses that a clerical error has been made in the record of Henry A. Murray, who is listed on page 18 as having been affiliated "with from 21 to 30 Communist-front organizations."

His name should be withdrawn from this particular section of the report. He is, however, properly listed as a sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.







